The Age of Owain Gwynedd

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THE AGE OF OWAIN GWYNEDD.

AN ATTEMPT AT A CONNECTED ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF WALES FROM DECEMBER, 1135, TO NOVEMBER, 1170.

To which are added several Appendices on the Chronology, &c., of the period.

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— BY —

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TO MY FATHER,

PROFESSOR PAUL BARBIER

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF WALES.

INTRODUCTION.

The XIIth Century must always have a peculiar interest for the Welshman who studies the history of his country. It is the time when the struggle is keenest and most dramatic between the centralising forces of the Anglo-Norman monarchy and the Celtic tribal organisation, between the ecclesiastical ideals of the Celtic Church such as they appealed to Sulien, and those of the Roman Church such as they were conceived by Hildebrand. It is the time when the Literature of Wales revives and many of her great writers flourish; the time too when Celtic folklore penetrates into the literature of the neighbouring peoples.

The greatest Welsh figure of the middle of the XIIth Century is certainly Owain Gwynedd; he and he alone, can form a central figure for the history of the time. From the death of Henry 1st in 1135 to the final overthrow of Welsh independence by Edward 1st, the three great national leaders are Owain Gwynedd, Rhys ap Gruffudd and Llywelyn Fawr. The present book aims at giving a connected and chronologically ordered account of the history of Wales during the years that Owain ruled in Gwynedd and exercised his influence over the destinies of the whole country. (1135—1170 A.D.)

It is published exactly as it was written, eleven years ago, for the Newport National Eisteddfod.

An ideal history of Wales is at present an impossibility. Up to the present no particular period has found its historian; it is no doubt at present difficult to find men who are competent to deal with all the sources. Still, it is only when monographs on each particular period will have cleared the way, that a complete history of the country will be justified.

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ERRATA.

Page 18. Note 5—'Brut y Saerson' read 'Saeson.'

„ 26. Title of Chapter II.—'from 1135 to 1147' read 'from 1135 to 1143.'

„ 35. Note 3—'Randulf' read 'Ranulf.'

„ 44. Line 23—'Innocent III' read 'Innocent II.'

„ 47. Last line—'Caedfan' read 'Cadfan.'

„ 90. Line 10—'Merionydd' read 'Meirionydd.'

„ 108. Note 4—'the First' read 'the Second.'

„ 116. Line 13—'Faclain' read 'Faelain.'

THE AGE OF OWAIN GWYNEDD

CHAPTER I.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF WALES FROM 1135 TO 1143.

Death of Henry I.—Revolt of the Welsh—War in the Vale of Llwchwr and in Gwyr—Richard of Clare killed in Gwent—Defeat and death of Gwenllian, wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys, at Cydweli—Alliance between Gruffudd ap Cynan and Gruffudd at Rhys—First invasion of Ceredigion—Second invasion of Ceredigion—Battle of Crug-mawr—Affairs in the Southern marches—Stephen sends into Wales an army which is forced to retreat—Siege of Llanstephan—Power of Gruffudd ap Rhys—Eisteddfod held in South Wales—The Cantref of Rhos ravaged by Gruffudd ap Rhys—Imposition of tribute on the Flemings—Death of Gruffudd ap Rhys—Anarawd ap Gruffudd—His relations with St. David's—Invasion of Wales by Baldwin de Clare—Robert of Ewyas unsuccessfully wars against the Welsh—Pain Fitz John killed—Stephen leaves the Welsh to themselves—Third invasion of Ceredigion by Owain Gwynedd—Conquest of the Clare lands—Death of Gruffudd ap Cynan—Owain Gwynedd, his successor—Treaty with the Dublin Princes—Truce of 1138 with the Normans—Sack of St. Dogmael's by the Dublin pirates—War in the Welsh marches—Combination against Stephen—Gilbert de Clare made Earl of Pembroke—Capture of Hereford and Weobley by Stephen—He ravages the lands of Gloucester and Paganel—He takes Shrewsbury from Fitzalan—Battle of Northallerton—Capture of Ludlow by Stephen in May, 1139—Organised activity of the nobles against Stephen—Misery in the Welsh marches—The Welsh used as mercenaries—Battle of Lincoln, 1141—Petty Warfare in Central Wales—Death of Howel ap Maredudd of Brycheiniog, and of Madog ab Idnerth—Power of Miles Fitz Walter in the Welsh marches—His alliance with Robert of Gloucester—His conflict with Bishop Gilbert of Hereferd—His death.

HENRY THE FIRST, King of England, died on Sunday the First of December 1135, in the evening. He was one of the most formidable enemies that the Welsh ever had to contend with. He never vacillated in the policy which he had laid down for himself in his dealings with them, taking every advantage offered by the incessant quarrels of the native princes, and giving every encourage-

ment to the encroachments of his own Norman vassals. By appointing Norman nominees to the Welsh sees, and demanding the oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan, he took the first step in the task of assimilating the Welsh church to the English, which his successors wrought out. He adopted the system of plantation of foreign colonists on Welsh soil, which was pursued centuries later towards Ireland by the English sovereigns. He knew that a race is a race indeed, only as long as its idiom is distinct from that of its neighbours; that it can no longer hope for separate existence once its own speech is lost; and by gradual means he purposed to extirpate a language which had survived three conquests.

Henry was the last of the Norman French rulers. [1]There is a story that on the night when he breathed his last, two lakes in Elfael suddenly burst the barriers which nature and human labour had together striven to oppose to the ravages of the waters. The revolt, which, in Wales, followed his death and the removal of his grasp on the control of affairs, was no less sudden, no less terrible. [2]The fierce Welsh lord of Brycheiniog, Howel ap Maredudd, dashed down like a beast of prey into the plains that stretch from the Llwchwr to the Tawe, and ravaged them so fiercely that sixty years later, his passage was memorable even in that fierce land of tribal war and rapine. [3]The new year had barely dawned when the rock-bound peninsula of Gwyr became the scene of carnage; it

1. Gira'dus Camb., Itin. Kamb, Rolls Ser., vi. 19.

2. Gir. Camb., Itin. Kamb, Rolls Ser., vi. 78.

3. Flor. Wigorn. ad. ann. 1135; Gesta Stephani, ed. Bohn, p. 330. Both authorities give the number of killed as 516; but Florence says that men were killed on both sides; whereas the account in the Gesta suggests that the 516 slain were all Norman knights and men-at-arms

is on record that five hundred and sixteen men were killed in conflict, and that after the battle, the bodies, wildly scattered over the field, were devoured by wolves. Throughout Wales princes and people rushed with savage joy to fight and plunder the Norman foe; his castles were burnt, his towns laid low, his adherents slain or sold into slavery. [1] Eight years before, Gruffudd ap Rhys, accused before Henry by the Norman nobles of South Wales, had been deprived of most of his lands; and the heir of Rhys ap Tewdwr was now possessed of the single cwmwd of Caeo in Cantref Mawr. But to the Welsh he was still the lawful heir to the government of Deheubarth; and it was evident that the present outbreak, if made to suit his purpose, was a favourable occasion for the recovery of some of the old authority of his house; [2] therefore, leaving his wife and sons in the woody district of Ystrad Tywi, Gruffudd hastened north to Gwynedd to seek alliance and aid from his father-in-law, Gruffudd ap Cynan.

But rapid was the march of events. The Norman nobles were not the men to give up tamely, and at the first sign of danger, the lands they had acquired, and many hurried to Wales to defend them. Richard was the head of the great house of Clare, whose Welsh lands, acquired during the preceding reign, extended from the Wye to the Irish sea; and the son of [3] Gilbert Fitz Richard to whom Henry I. had given Ceredigion, had, perhaps, more than any other to lose by the success of the Welsh rebellion. [4] He crossed from England into Wales, near Abergafeni. Brian of Wallingford, then lord of the castle,

1. In 1127 (See Brut. Tywysog. ad. ann. 1124). See Gir. Camb vi. 34.
2. Gir. Camb. vi. 19.
3. In 1110 (See Br. Tyw ad. ann. 12107)
4. Gir. Camb. vi. 47, 48, 118.

with many knights, accompanied him to the outskirts of Coed Gronwy; but further, Richard, rendered blind by arrogance or perhaps ignorant of the fury of the national revolt, refused his escort, and in spite of the warnings of his friends entered the rocky defile unarmed with his men; having at his side in his reckless confidence, to while away the hours of the road, one who alternately played on the strings of his lute, and with his voice awoke the echoes around by singing some old time ditty. The end was not long in coming; Iorwerth ab Owain with his household troops and those of his brother, Morgan of Caerlleon, ambushed in the woods, rushed out upon Richard and slew him and many of his men, and stripping them, bore off their bloody booty.

Richard of Clare was a man, like the rest of his house, of marked magnificence, proud of his race, haughty towards those whom he considered his inferiors, but noble withal and amiable to his friends. [1] His death took place on the 15th of April, 1136. [2] It left the Normans of South Wales without their natural leader, but many of their nobles were men of energy, capable of defending their own single-handed; and among them [3] Maurice de Londres, who had but lately suceeded his father, William, as lord of Cydweli and Ogmore, alike by the vigour and the violence of his character, seems to have specially drawn upon himself the resentment of the Welsh. [4] Aroused by some action of the Norman, or of her own accord taking the offensive, Gwenllian, the wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys, and a woman of

1. See Flor. Wigorn. ad. ann. 1136; B. Tyw ad ann 1135=1136; Ann. Camb ad. ann, 1136.
2. Gir Camb. vi 118.
3. Probably before 1126, as in that year he witnessed the Concordia inter Urb. episc et Rob. cons. Glouc. in Liber Landavensis.
4. Gir. Camb vi 78, 79.

spirit, in the absence of her husband, took the command of his household troops, and accompanied by her two sons, Morgan and Maelgwn, marched on Cydweli; from his rocky stronghold Maurice, with the constable Geoffrey, sallied forth to meet her army, and defeated her with great slaughter; of her sons, Morgan was killed, and Maelgwn captured; she herself fell into the hands of her foes and her head was cut off, and many other prisoners suffered the same fate at the hands of the brutal victor.

But not in vain had Gruffudd ap Rhys journeyed to Gwynedd. [1] Gruffudd ap Cynan seems, towards the close of his life, to have lost the use of his eyesight. He was now very old and incapable of taking part in any campaign. Sixty years had come and gone since, a young and vigorous prince, he had fought Trahaiarn at Bron yr Erw; and as he felt the strength of spirit which had sustained him in his early career, fall away from him, he must have handed over to his two surviving sons, Owain and Cadwaladr, the direction of foreign policy and war. Certain it is that these two princes were only too eager for the fray. [2] They gathered a strong force and marched into Ceredigion; the castle of Walter de Bec was laid low; that of the Clares at Aberystwyth, where Gruffudd ap Rhys had once suffered defeat, was taken and burnt to the ground. No leader could the Normans find; the Welsh on the other hand, received accessions of strength at every success. The fierce Howel ap Maredudd, of Brycheiniog, with Rhys and Maredudd, his sons, and Madog ab Idnerth, lord of Elfael and Maelienydd, joined the northern princes. Together they destroyed the castle of Richard de la Mare; and

1. Hanes Gr. ap. C. (Myf. Arch. p. 734.)

2. For the 1st Inv. of Ceredigion see Brut. Tyw. and Ann. Camb. (Rolls Ser.)

burnt Dineirth and Caerwedros. After these successes each prince returned to his land.

[1] But the fierce warfare of the year was not yet over. Owain and Cadwaladr, having gathered together a force of six thousand infantry and over two thousand cavalry, marched a second time into Ceredigion, at the beginning of autumn. Gruffudd ap Rhys from Ystrad Tywi, Howel ap Maredudd from Brycheiniog, with his two sons, Rhys and Maredudd, and Madog ab Idnerth from the land between Wye and Severn, hurried once more to their assistance. The concentration of so formidable an army compelled the Normans to exert every nerve to meet their aggressors. Stephen, constable of Cardigan, Robert Fitz Martin, the sons of Gerald, steward of Pembroke, and every noble of South West Wales who had something to lose by the success of the Welsh, gathered together at Aberteifi a large force of Normans, and with them came the Flemings of the Cantref of Rhos. Some say that only three thousand of Normans were put together, but it is probable that their array was far more numerous. In the second week of October the two armies met at Crug Mawr near Aberteifi; the Welsh commenced by harassing the Normans with flights of arrows; and then, in three bodies, charged across the field upon them. After a bloody battle the Normans and Flemings fled from the field. [2] According to one account they lost three thousand men; another states that over ten thousand perished. Some were killed in conflict; some fled to the castles and the neighbouring churches and were burnt to death within them; the greater

1. For the 2nd Inv. of Caredigion see B.T. and A.C. (Rolls Ser.) ad ann. 1136; also Gesta Stephani; Cont. Flor. Wig., ad. ann 1136; and Gir. Camb. vi. 118.

2 For these discrepancies and the numbers quoted see authorities mentioned.

part were drowned. The bridge over the Teifi broke down under the weight of the men and horses fleeing, but the victorious Welsh were enabled to cross the river by another made of the corpses of their foes. [1] The glory of this great victory was by some attributed to the princes of Gwynedd, by others to Gruffudd ap Rhys. It was the severest blow the Norman power had yet received in Wales. Owain and Cadwaladr, loaded with the spoils of victory, the costly garments and arms of the Norman knights, and with an immense number of prisoners destined, the wealthy to be ransomed, the poorer to be sold in the Irish slave market, returned once again in triumph to their land of Gwynedd.

It is not to be supposed that King Stephen made no effort to stem the tide of Welsh rebellion in this year. Upon the death of his uncle he found that in the Welsh marches two nobles ruled supreme. Miles of Gloucester had in 1121 been given the hand of Sibyl, daughter of Bernard de Neufmarché, the conqueror of Brycheiniog, with the reversion of her father's possessions. [2] In 1129 he succeeded his father Walter, and henceforward was sheriff of Gloucester and Stafford. [3] Pain Fitz John was at Stephen's accession sheriff of Shropshire and Hereford, and in Wales Lord of the cwmwd of Ewyas. [4] To these two men Henry I. seems to have entrusted the chief conduct of his Welsh affairs; [5] and one chronicler tells us that they ruled the land from Severn to the sea. They seem to have worked hand in hand together for several years; and the union was cemented by a marriage. Roger, Miles' eldest

1. See the Brut. Tyw. and Gir. Camb vi. 118.

2. Rot. Pip. 31 H. i.
3. Gesta Steph. p. 334; Gir. Camb. vi. 34.
4. Gir. Camb. vi. 34—35.
5. Gesta Stephani, ed. Bohn., p. 334.

son, became the husband of Cicely, Pain's only daughter and heiress. Miles and Pain first held aloof from Stephen; but the latter set to work to win them over to his side, and early in 1136 they came together to meet him at Reading, and did him homage.

[1] This first obstacle being overcome, Stephen, at much expense, raised a considerable force of horse and foot, and despatched it against the insurgents. They fought bravely against the Welsh, but many were slain; the rest retreated, panic-stricken at the success and savage harrying of the enemy.

[2] The King was once more forced to turn his attention to Welsh affairs by the news of the decisive defeat of the Normans near Aberteifi, and of the siege sustained by [3] Adelise, sister of Ranulf, of Chester, and widow of Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, against the Welsh in one of her late husband's castles. [4] From the *Gwentian Chronicle*, we may hesitatingly infer this castle to have been in the cwmwd of Mabudrud; and since it is spoken of as a place of great strength by the author of the Acts of Stephen, it was probably Llanstephan. Miles Fitz Walter was ordered by the King to relieve the beleaguered castle and its lady, whom her Norman neighbours were now unable to assist. Through the centre of the revolted country, by gloomy forest and hill, probably crossing the difficult country which lay between his own lordship of Brycheiniog and woody Ystrad Tywi, he picked his way down the valley and accomplished his object; and with Adelise, in safety returned to his own lands.

1. Gesta St. p. 330. 2. Gesta Steph. p. 330—332.
3. Christiana acc. to Clark, Land of Morgan, p. 82, in a charter of Bury Abbey.
4. In Myv. Arch., ad. ann. 1138, where there is a very mixed account of the Battle of Lincoln, and Gilbert de Clare is confounded with his brother Richard.

The advantages conferred on Gruffudd ap Rhys by the victory near Aberteifi were lasting. It very much weakened the aggressive power of the Normans in Wales for several years. [1] So much did he feel his newly won security that, if we are to believe a rather untrustworthy authority, he held a Great Eisteddfod which lasted forty days, and to it came men from every part of Wales and the Marches to compete for the prizes awarded for the best bardic, musical and learned compositions, and to enjoy the good cheer provided by Gruffudd. The support given by the princes of Wales to their national learning and art during the twelfth century, when harassed by incessant warfare, is to their high praise, and accounts for much of its excellence at this period. If we are to believe a further statement of the same *Gwentian Chronicle*, the aged Gruffudd ap Cynan and his sons came from Gwynedd to witness the festival; and the result of a conference between the princes of North and South Wales was the revision of the national law of the Cymry, and the organisation of a more effective justice in the land by the establishment of courts in every cantref, and subordinate courts in the cwmwds.

[2] The year 1137 had but commenced when Gruffudd ap Rhys resolved to take the offensive against the Flemings. This hardy race were now masters of the Cantref of Rhos, whence, in face of every danger, they carried on their woollen trade by sea and land; and they had grown rich by thrift and labour. Equally fit and ready for the tilling of land and the waging of war, they had been conspicuous for the help they had given the Normans in the preceding

1. Gwent. Chron., Myv. Arch. ad. ann. 1135.

2. Ann. Camb., B.MS.; Ann. Marg.; Cont. H. Wigorn; Gir. Camb. vi. 83—4. See the whole of Ch. xi. of Itin. Kamb., "De Haverfordia et Ros" in Gir. vi. 82—9.

year. Their great unpopularity among the Welsh was no doubt largely due to the fact that wherever they settled, the original inhabitants disappeared; either withdrew of their own will or were exterminated. The first attack of the revolted Welsh had been upon the Fleming settlements in Gwyr which they had savagely harried; and Gruffudd probably found no more enthusiastic support from his subjects than when he marched into the Cantref of Rhos with an army. He ravaged it with fire and sword, and [1] reduced the Flemings to the payment of a heavy tribute.

Gruffudd ap Rhys was a prince of no ordinary ability. Left a child at the death of his father, he had spent the years of his childhood in exile among strangers, and even when by his valour he had forced some sort of recognition of his rights, during the last eight years of Henry Beauclerc's reign, a single cwmwd was considered sufficient for him who was the heir of the overlord of Deheubarth. When the hand of death had removed his lifelong enemy, the last of the Norman kings, Gruffudd quickly recovered authority in Dyfed, Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi; [2] but hardly had his satisfied ambition grasped the old authority of his fathers, when the same hand was stretched forth to withdraw him from the scene of his labours. He was in the prime of life. [3] One chronicle ascribes his death to the perfidy of a wife, but no such reason is elsewhere mentioned, and we are forced to discard this as improbable.

He left four sons, named in the order of their birth, Anarawd, Cadell, Maredudd and Rhys; Maredudd was

1. He did not conquer them in the sense implied in Continuation of Florence of Worcester for we find them at war with his son Cadell in 1146 [Brut, ad. ann. 1145—6].
2. Brut, ad. ann. 1136=7; Ann. Camb; Ann. Marg.
3. Contn. of Flor. Wigorn.

but seven, and Rhys certainly younger The eldest, Anarawd, had just made himself very popular with the clergy of St. David's and his subjects, by killing Litard Littleking without the knowledge and against the will of Gruffudd. This Litard, of whom we know nothing else, must have incurred the enmity of the clergy, possibly by the spoliation of the churches and lands of the see. During the six years which followed Gruffudd's death, Anarawd succeeded to most of the authority, and consistently pursued the policy of his father.

[2] The year 1137 saw the last efforts which were made by Stephen directly to stem the torrent of Welsh revolt. Baldwin Fitz Gilbert de Clare was despatched by him to carry relief to his dead brother Richard's lands in Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi. With the large sums placed at his disposal by the king, Baldwin hired a body of horse and some five hundred stout archers, and advanced into Central Wales as far as Aberhonddu Castle, in the Usk valley. Here he halted, alarmed by the intelligence that a large army had gathered to meet him, and that the Welsh, to impede his further progress, had blocked the roads with felled tree trunks. Vainly counting on the failing of provisions and eventual disbanding of the foe, he wasted his time until his own supplies falling short, he was forced to retreat.

[3] Robert Fitz Harold of Ewyas was also employed by Stephen against the Welsh. [4] He was grandson of Earl Ralph, who had met defeat and death in battle with

1. Ann. Camb. B, Letardus Litelking Dei inimicus et Sancti David.
2. See Gest. Steph., 332.
3. For Robert's warfare with the Welsh, see Gesta Steph, pp. 332—3.
4. Brut. ad. ann. 1054- 5, p.p 42—3; See also *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and Flor, Wigorn

Gruffudd ap Llywelyn more than eighty years before. [1] His father Harold was established as a Norman landowner in South Brycheiniog, and is found on the list of benefactors of St. Peter's at Gloucester. Robert himself seems to have had ability, and met with more success than Baldwin. He completely defeated the Welsh in a first encounter, and strongly fortified and garrisoned a castle against them; but finding his own forces insufficient to cope with the numbers of the enemy, he returned to England to bring reinforcements. The Welsh acted promptly; and before he could return had forced his castle to surrender.

[2] Pain Fitz John, too, excited to action by the ravages of the Welsh in his own lands in Ewyas, had led an army against them. This noble belonged to the class of jurists who had risen to eminence in Henry's reign, and both he and his ally, Miles, had made themselves notorious for extortion. He and his forces defeated the Welsh; but Pain was, alone of his side, mortally wounded, an arrow piercing his brain. The Chronicles speak of his wonderful bodily strength. He was one of the numerous benefactors of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and was buried in the chapter house there.

[3] Stephen, discouraged by these results, and relying upon the outbreak of the internecine warfare which was an almost necessary consequence of the Welsh law of gavelkind, adopted the plan of leaving the Welsh to themselves; and his own misfortunes, and the growing weakness of his kingdom, to which the Welsh contributed no small part, compelled him never to swerve from this feeble policy.

1. Cart. Sti. Petr. Glouc., i. 76.
2. Gest. Steph., 334; Cont. Flor. Wigorn, ad. ann. 1137; Cart. S. Petr. Glouc. One of Pain's castle had been burnt in 1134 by the Welsh, and the garrison put to the sword, Orderic. Vital. v. 43
3. Gest. Steph. 332–3.

While the attempts of the Normans were everywhere baffled, the Welsh met with nothing but success. The failure of Baldwin's mission left the Clare lands to shift for themselves. [1] Owain and Cadwaladr a third time marched into Ceredigion. [2] Ystrad Meurug, a strong castle situated between the valleys of the Ystwyth and the Teifi, one of the first erected by Gilbert Fitz Richard, was also the last to fall. The Welsh burnt it to the ground. Thence Owain and Cadwaladr went south to attack the Clare lands and castles in Ystrad Tywi. They were joined by Anarawd ap Gruffudd and his brother Cadell, and the two fortresses of Caerfyrddin and Llanstephan were laid low. The power of the great Norman house of Clare seemed destroyed. Of Richard's brothers, neither Baldwin nor Gilbert succeeded in keeping a hold on his vast Welsh domains ; and his two sons were too young to take part in the conflict. For eight years the name of their house disappears from the Welsh annals.

[3] When the princes, Owain and Cadwaladr, returned from their great inroad into South Wales, their father was dying. We cannot look without interest at that aged prince who, during his long life, withstood the whole torrent of the Norman conquest when the tide was at the full, and not recognise, that it is probably largely due to the wisdom he had acquired in his first wars and the pacific policy he pursued during the last years of his life, that so much vigour sprung from Gwynedd during the reign of his successor, and that Wales during Stephen's time was

1. Brut, 1136=7 ; Ann. Camb. ; Cont. Flor. Wigorn.
2. Ystrad Meurug was alseady built in 1116. See Brut, 1113=6.
3. I have followed the order of events as they are given in the B.MS. used for the Rolls Edition of the Ann. Cambriae.

enabled to obtain another lease of her turbulent life. [1] His biographer is enthusiastic in his description of the good rule of Gruffudd, and warmly describes the prosperity of the land, the development of agriculture, and the numerous churches that were built in his reign. [2] For Gruffudd was a builder and benefactor of churches. To Dublin where he had been reared in childhood, to Mynyw or St. David's which claimed metropolitan authority over the Welsh churches, to the monasteries of Chester and Shrewsbury, to his own church of Bangor, to the great Celtic foundations of Enlli and Celynog Fawr, to Caergybi and Penmon, to Llanarmon and Dineirth, he sent before his death, donations of money for the benefit of his soul.

The biographer gives us an account of the death-bed scene. Bishop Dafydd, of Bangor, Archdeacon Simeon, the prior of the Monastery of Chester—to whom Gruffudd seems to have been generous—and many other Welsh priests and scholars came to see his body anointed with the consecrated oil; among them moved the sons of Gruffudd. Their father turned to them and blessed them, and with his last words exhorted them to be brave and united against the foemen. To his wife, Angharad, daughter of his old enemy Owain ab Edwin, of Tegeingl, he left half his personalty, two randir, and the harbour dues of Abermenai. To his daughters and nephews he left wherewith to maintain themselves after his day was done. [3] He was eighty-two years of age. They buried him near the great altar in Bangor Cathedral.

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1. For much of what follows, see Hanes Gruffudd in Myv. Arch, pp. 733—4.
2. See Brut ad. 1136—7.
3. This is very probable. It is given by the Biographer. Gruffudd was defeated at Bron yr Erw 1075 [Brut, Rolls Ed. 1073]. He could hardly have been born after 1055.

[1]Gruffudd was a true Cymric Celt. Round and ruddy faced, with yellow hair, large eyes and full beard, in youth he had been straight and strong-limbed; with the hot temper of his race; their eloquence and skill in debate; their reckless bravery; and if we are to believe the concurrent voice of history and tradition, their love of music and poetry. [2]We are told that from Ireland he introduced the pipe, which may have solaced the weary days of his exile; [3]and we know that the first of the Gogynfeirdd was a bard at his court, and wrote an elegy on his death.

If Gruffudd ap Cynan was the hero of Welsh defensive warfare, Owain was the hero of victory. The son he left to succeed to the head rule in Gwynedd was worthy to guide his nation. Had not the inherent weakness of the Welsh system of hereditary succession prevented him from uniting the whole race under his banner and leading the Cymry in peace and war, the work which he did would have had more scope and been more lasting.

[4]Owain was now between forty and fifty years old. He did not delay in putting himself to his work, the aim of his life, the diminution of the Norman power in Wales. [5]Early in 1138, having made an arrangement with the piratical princes of Dublin whereby they were to furnish him with a fleet of fifteen ships, Owain with his brother Cadwaladr advanced once more to Aberteifi, which had been fixed as the place of meeting. There he was joined by Anarawd and Cadell, the two eldest of the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys, and by the fleet from Ireland. But nothing was done, and

1. See Hanes Gruff. in Myv. Arch., p. 728. 2. Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, pp. 55—69
3. Meilir's elegy in Myv. Arch., pp. 140, 141.
4. He is first referred to in Brut, ad. 1111=4, in connection with Henry the First's campaign.
5 Ann. Camb. an 1138 in MS. C.

a treaty of truce was concluded with the Normans to last till the 11th of November. This, however, probably displeased Owain's Irish allies. They determined not to withdraw without some plunder.

Beyond the Teifi lay the Cantref of Cemmaes, of which Robert Fitz Martin was Lord Marcher. His father, Martin de Turribus, had conquered the district, and at his death Robert became one of the greater Norman nobles of South Wales. In 1126 he had been one of the witnesses to the Charter of Agreement between the Lord of Glamorgan and the Bishop of Llandaff; and about the same time had founded the only establishment of the Tironian Benedictines in Wales, at St. Dogmael's or Llandydoch, which was the chief seat of his influence. [1] We have contemporary evidence of the vigour of the new institution, and it is probable that with the Welsh it must have excited much distrust from its increasing wealth. It was situated favourably for a *coup-de-main* near the estuary of the Teifi; and the pirates seem to have been unable to withstand so great a temptation. In spite of truce, village and church alike they sacked, and bore off to their ships a very large booty Owain and Cadwaladr returned to Gwynedd.

Late in the spring of this year war began in the Welsh Marches. The reason of the hostility to Stephen which the Welsh seem to have shown throughout the reign, was due, partly to the identification of that prince in the Welsh mind with the Norman monarchy which had been so formidable under the two Williams and Henry, and partly to the fact that the great nobles who owned Welsh land

1. See in Arch. Camb. Fifth Series, Vol. vii., pp. 205—8, Canon Bevan's Extracts from the Statute Book of St. David's Cathedral, concerning the appropriation of the land and the church of St. Mary of Cemaes and the Abbey of St. Dogmael's; temp. Bernardi.

were the chief opponents of the crown, and had Welsh mercenaries or auxiliaries in the war. On the one hand, it was clear, that more the king became powerful, the more chance there was of vigorous and united action on the Norman side, and the more danger to Welsh independence. On the other—and the Welsh princes knew it well—the most energetic enemies of the king's increasing power were the great marcher nobles, who feared for their immense influence and the unusual privileges they enjoyed in their Welsh lands. Robert of Gloucester, the great enemy of Stephen, who, by the right of his wife was Lord of Glamorgan, was a bastard of Henry's; he had inherited the ability and vast energy of his father and grandfather, more than his grandfather's tact in government, more than his father's tastes for literary pursuits. [1] The popularity which Stephen had acquired at first by his sympathetic character, and a lavish expenditure of his uncle's hoarded treasures, had forced Robert to recognise him as King at Easter, 1136, but only on condition that his own rights and estates were guaranteed, and no doubt provisionally, awaiting a more favourable time for opposition. Miles Fitz Walter and Pain Fitz John had followed the same course; Ranulf of Chester, an ambitious and unscrupulous man who played with any party to gain his own ends, also acknowledged Stephen.

But these provisional successes were soon to be counteracted by greater mischances. No race has shown itself more prone to treason than the Normans; and when after crushing the first attempts at rebellion in 1136, Stephen, departing from the policy of his predecessors, spared the

1. Wm. of Malmesbury, ii. 541; Gesta Steph p. 329.

conquered, treason became rife against him. He had prodigally thrown away the treasure he had acquired, [1] and in May, 1138, while spending Rogation tide at Gloucester, he heard that Geoffrey Talbot had fortified Hereford Castle against him, and that a new revolt had broken out. [2] Morgan ab Owain, of Caerlleon, was to hold Usk; William de Moun, Dunster, in Somerset. The castles of the younger Peveril, [3] Whittington, Bryn, Overton, Ellesmere, were clustered together in North Shropshire and the Flintshire Cantref of Maelawr. The insurgents relied upon the help of the invading Scots.

Stephen at first showed vigour in coping with his difficulties. [4] Gilbert Fitz Gilbert had succeeded his brother Richard as chief of the house of Clare. From his uncle [5] Robert he had acquired estates in Normandy, and the death of Walter, another uncle, lord of Nether Gwent and founder of Tintern, made him powerful in that district. To conciliate him and bring over his great influence to his side, the King created him Earl of Pembroke, and despatched him to oppose his enemies in the North. [6] He himself marched on Hereford and remained before it four weeks, during which time the town below the Wye bridge was burnt. At last he forced the castle to surrender. He spared its garrison. Pursuing Talbot, he took Weobley. Having manned these two castles, the King withdrew. But hardly had he left when Talbot, re-appearing, burnt all

1. Cont. Fl. Wigorn.

2. This is what I gather from the "Morgan Gualus Ucham tenuit" of Ord. Vit. v. 110.

3. In Ord. Vital. v. 111. they appear as: Brunam, Elesmaram, Obretonam et Guitentonam. See note 2; Forester suggested Overt in (Rutland), and Geddington (Northampton). These suggestions are wrong; the Overton referred to is evidently Overton in the Cantref of Maelawr.

4. Ord. Vit. v. 112.

5. In 1136 Robert died. See Rt. de Monte; Walter possibly in 1139. See Brut y Saesson ad. ann. 1135 in Myv. Arch. p. 676.

6. Ord. Vit. v. 110—4; Cont. Fl. Wigorn, ad. ann. 1137.

the city beyond Wye, and then fled to Bristol, held by William, son of Robert of Gloucester, who had now renounced his allegiance. This outrage revealed the King's weakness. Things went worse. A powerful Shropshire noble, William Fitz Alan, who had married Gloucester's niece, joined the rebels; Paganel followed suit; and the castles of Shrewsbury and Ludlow in the Welsh Marches were closed against the King.

Stephen seems to have been aroused by these news, and to have resolved on stringent measures. He ravaged in succession the lands of Gloucester and those of Paganel, and then marched against Fitz Alan. The latter did not dare to remain himself, but left Shrewsbury strongly garrisoned. Nothing availed. The town was taken by storm in August, and Fitz Alan's uncle, Arnoul de Hesdin, hanged, and the whole garrison put to the sword. The news of this unwonted severity struck terror into the hearts of many, and Paganel, among others, fearing for his Castle of Ludlow, hastened to make peace with the King. Fortune again smiled on Stephen. The invading army of the Scotch, from whom his enemies had hoped much, was broken on the 22nd of August on the Yorkshire plains at Northallerton.

A little peace, that was no peace, followed. At Christmas Stephen took Slede. And after a march to Scotland, he returned to take Ludlow in May. He was always at his best when fighting, but he failed dismally at everything else. By an insane political blunder he now threw the whole weight of the Church into the scale against him. His enemies no longer hesitated. In August, 1139, Matilda and Robert came over to Portsmouth, Hence

Robert hastened to Bristol, where his son William and the chief seat of his influence were, there to concert with Miles Fitz Walter, Brian Fitz Count, and his other allies, the plan of campaign. Matilda, at first besieged by Stephen in Arundel, was by him foolishly allowed by treaty to join her brother at Bristol.

Then followed a truly miserable time. The Welsh Marches suffered more than can be told. Wales and the West had declared for Matilda, and on them she relied. [1] Robert of Gloucester constantly employed Welsh mercenary troops; more than ten thousand, one writer tells us, were scattered through England, where, careless alike of human life and reverence for consecrated places, they plundered and burnt and slew, mindful, perhaps, of other days when their father's blood had called for vengeance on the Saxon, and their own holy houses been wantonly profaned by the Teuton foe. The year 1140 was spent in endless, hopeless fighting, without any clear gain to either party.

[2] But a change came. It did not close before Ranulf of Chester, and his half brother, William of Roumare, had surprised and taken Lincoln by strategem. Ever vigorous in action, Stephen rushed northwards, and immediately after Christmas blockaded his foes, with their wives, in their new town. A bold blow was necessary to avoid the resentment of the King. Ranulf escaped by night with a few men from the beleaguered city, and sending word to his father-in-law, Gloucester, to come to his assistance, hastened to his own Cheshire, where he quickly gathered together

1. Ord. Vit. v. 112: "Gualis ad auxilium sui accitis" sq.; Wm. of Malm. ii. 557.

2. Ord. Vit. v. 124—6; Wm. of Malmesbury, ii. 569—70.

a large force of his subjects, of men disaffected with Stephen's rule, of Welshmen from Powys and Gwynedd. Robert of Gloucester, with the forces he could muster, joined him, and they hurried to the relief of Lincoln.

[1] On the 2nd February, 1141, the armies met. Ranulf of Chester led the van, and Robert of Gloucester the rear; on the flank were the Welsh, badly armed for a war outside their own land of hill and forest, but formidable from their numbers and their wild valour, with two brothers, [2] Maredudd and Cadwaladr at their head. The battle was fierce. But treachery, as usual, told against Stephen. His Flemings and Bretons were the first to flee; and at this sign of defeat Gilbert de Clare left the field. But the King himself fought like a King, wielding his double-edged axe of battle, one against all, until the axe, unable to do its work, broke in his hands; then fronting his foes with his sword, until that too, splitting, left him unarmed, and he was made a captive. Baldwin de Clare, who had addressed the King's host before battle, and had fought on with him to the end, also fell into the enemies' hands. Stephen was incarcerated in Bristol.

[3] The terrified citizens fled at the news of the King's defeat, and more of them perished—drowned in the river—than had been killed of soldiers in the field. They left their wives and their town of Lincoln, a prey to the troops of Chester; and the Welsh, in their fury of race, took

1. For the account of the Battle of Lincoln see: Ord. Vit. v. 126—9; *Anglo Saxon Chron.*, ad. 1140; Cont. of Flor. Wigorn, ad. 1141; R. de Monte; Henry of Huntington; William of Malmesbury, ii. 571—2; Gesta Steph. pp. 377—9.

2. "Mariadoth et Kaladrius" in Ord. Vit. v. 127. The fact that they are distinctly referred to as brothers precludes the confusion of Kaladrius with Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd, who had no brother called Maredudd. The only princes in Welsh history of the time to whom reference is possible are Maredudd and Cadwallon, sons of Madog ab Idnerth.

3. Ord. Vit. v. 129.

pleasure in the slaughter of those who had been unwilling or unable to flee.

While the Cymry were carrying far into England their arms and their valour, events were happening nearer home which had plunged large tracts of Central Wales into the most deplorable petty warfare. Powys, under the chieftainship of Maredudd ap Bleddyn, had shown more resistance to the Normans than any other part of the country, and against that district Henry I. had twice led his Welsh expeditions. [1] But the death of Maredudd in 1132, and more than that, the steadily growing power of Gwynedd under Owain and Cadwaladr, tended much to the diminution of Powysian influence, and to the growth of enmity between the two regions.

[2] Gruffudd, son of Maredudd, had died four years before his father. It is probable that of his other sons, Madog and Howel succeeded to most of his power, and we have reason to believe that Howel commanded the troops of Powys when [3] Cynfrig, son of Owain, was killed in 1140, and the breach between Powys and Gwynedd widened. [4] But in 1142 Howel was slain, and Madog practically ruled alone for the next eighteen years.

Meanwhile Howel ap Maredudd, of Brycheiniog, died, and in 1140 [5] his son Maredudd was slain by the men of Powys, so that his other son, Rhys, was his successor. [6] This Prince was soon engaged in war with Howel ap Maredudd ap Rhydderch, lord of Cantref Bychan, and in 1141 he slew him with his own hand.

1. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 1129=1132.
2. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 11 ; .
3. Ann. Camb., C.MS.
4. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 1141–2.
5. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 1139–40.
6. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 1140–1.

In the same year, 1140, not only Howel and his son Maredudd, but another Prince, who had fought the good fight for the independence of his country and lived to see it consummated, viz: [1] Madog, son of Idnerth, lord of Wales between Wye and Severn, died. His death was the signal for an outbreak of fearful anarchy. [2] Maelienydd, Elfael, and Gwerthrynion became infamous for the policy of blinding and castrating cousins which had been chiefly confined to Powys during Henry the First's reign. [3] Madog's own sons fell out at once among themselves, and two of them, Howel and Cadwgan, were killed in 1142.

Meanwhile, the personal power of Miles Fitz Walter in the Welsh Marches had been increasing steadily. In 1139, Matilda had given him St. Briavel's Castle and the Forest of Dean; and by a grant of the 25th of July, 1141, as a recompense for his faithful services in her cause, [4] he had obtained from her the earldom of the shire. For Matilda was then at the height of her triumph. But before the end of September her brother Robert fell into the hands of the enemy and [5] then was exchanged for Stephen. This caused a renewal of the hopeless warfare of the two years which had preceded the fight at Lincoln, and, though both parties were exhausted, the fate of war turned more and more against Matilda. Miles, however, was her constant friend, [6] and there is singular unanimity in the chronicles

1. Ann. Camb.; Brut. ad. 1139=40. 2. Gir. Camb. vi. 19.

3. Brut ad. 1141—2; the Ann. Chmb. C.M.S. adds "machinante Elya de se," which is unintelligible Elya is possibly a mistake for Enea, which would suggest that these two princes perished by the machinations of their brother Einion Clud. As usual the compiler of the Gwentian Chron. seems to have misunderstood his authorities, or to have added from the mere love of adding. He says:—"Ac y bu ymryson rwng Hywel a Chadwgawn, meibion Madawc ab Idnerth, ac y lladdasant y naill y llall."

4. Rymer's Foedera, Syllabus i. 4; Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 29.

5. Will. Malm. ii. 583; Hen. Hunt. 6. Gesta Steph., p. 370.

of the period testifying to his fidelity to her cause. [1] So we find her in 1142 giving him permission to hold of Brian Fitz-Count the Castle of Abergafenni, which, forming a connecting link between his possessions in Brycheiniog and those in the Forest of Dean, remained in his family until, after extinction of the male line, his daughter Bertha, by marriage, brought it to De Braose. [2] To further consolidate his power Miles, probably in the summer of the same year, made a close alliance with Robert of Gloucester, and gave him his youngest son Mahel as a hostage.

[3] But in 1143, being much in want of money to pay his troops, he was forced to lay his exactions upon the churches of the diocese of Hereford, and came into conflict with Bishop Robert, who promised him excommunication if he did not withdraw his demands. Miles, enraged at this unusual display of energy, ravaged the Bishop's land. The threatened sentence was formulated against him, and his lordship placed under an interdict. Seeing that the efforts of his kinsman Gilbert Foliot for appeal to the Pope were unavailing, and fearing he had gone too far, Miles came to terms with the Bishop, and promised indemnity for the losses sustained by the churches of the diocese at his hands.

[4] He was still engaged in legal proceedings with the latter, when, hunting deer on Christmas eve, he was struck by an arrow in the breast; and the superstition of the time

1. Dy. of Lancs. Charters, No. 17 (Publ. Rec. Off.).

2. This alliance was renewed later by their sons, Earls Roger of Hereford and William of Gloucester [Dy. of Lancaster Charters, Publ. Rec. Off.].

3. Gesta Steph., pp. 402—4.

4. Gerv. Cant. i. 126; Gesta Steph., p. 403; Ann Camb; Brut. ad ann. 1142=3.

saw in his fall the just judgment of God. [1] A dispute arose between Llanthony and Gloucester for the possession of his body; and the bishops of Worcester, Hereford and St. David's tried the case, and on the 28th of December, gave judgment in favour of the former. [2] Miles left his earldom and his immense influence in the Marches to the eldest of his five sons, Roger, who had already by marriage obtained the lands of Pain Fitz John. This young noble was a brilliant soldier, and seems to have had much ability; he continued his father's policy, keeping to the alliance with Gloucester and the party of Matilda; but he never forgot his father's excommunication, and was a vigorous enemy of the Church till his death.

1. Miles had in 1136 transferred the original house of Austin canons at Llanthony, in Monmouthshire, to a site on the south of Gloucester. This was henceforth known as Llanthonia Secunda. [Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi. (i) 127, 132]—For a XIIth Century account of Llanthony, see Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 37—45.

2. Gerv. Cant., i. 126; Gesta Steph., p. 404.

CHAPTER II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF WALES FROM 1135 TO 1147.

Struggle for Independence of Welsh sees from the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury—Bernard of St. David's—His conflicts with the Bishop of Llandaff—His alienation of Ecclesiastical Lands—Claims the right of a metropolitan see for St. David's—Obtains support from the Welsh princes—Election of Uchtryd, a Welshman, to the see of Llandaff, 1139, and of Meurug, another Welshman, to the see at Bangor—Meurug swears fealty to the King—Owain Gwynedd appeals to Bernard of St. David's against him—Conference at Aberdyfi, 1140—Action of Bishop Uchtryd with regard to Western monasteries holding land in Wales—Conflict with St. Peter's, Gloucester—Conflict with Goldcliff, 1143—Conflict with Tewkesbury; arbitration by Robert of Gloucester—Gilbert consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, 1143.

SIDE by side with the struggle for political independence, another was going on throughout Wales for the liberation of four Welsh sees from the yoke of the Norman Archbishop. Till the time of King Henry's death, the vigorous Bernard of St. David's had been chiefly engaged in continuous disputes with the Bishops of Llandaff and Hereford for the spiritual jurisdiction of certain debateable lands on the frontier of the three dioceses; but the war of independence and the national success opened a new field to his activity.

[1] Bernard was a man of learning. Accustomed to the luxurious life of the court of the Norman, he was not contented by the revenues of his see, [2] and to face his expenses was compelled to alienate many of its lands,

1. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 15, 4.
2. Gir. Camb., iii. 154.

notably the cantref of Pebidiog, which the generosity of the princes of Deheubarth had bestowed on the Church. [1] He had applied himself with energy to assimilate the clergy of St. David's to Roman ritual and discipline; and had established a body of canons but without a Dean, at his Cathedral. [2] He had been the first bishop of Mynyw who was not Welsh by race; but the same motives of ambition, which had urged him to accept the oath of allegiance to Canterbury, when he obtained promotion to the see, now influenced him to make an effort for the delivery of his Church from a foreign servitude.

[3] Giraldus deliberately states that Bernard did not formulate the metropolitan claim of St. David's till twenty years had elapsed from the time of his consecration. He applied to Pope Innocent II. for the pallium, and we may gather from Giraldus Cambrensis that the pontiff promised to view the matter favourably, but put off his decision to a future occasion. [4] Bernard turned to the Welsh princes for support, and not only Anarawd ap Gruffudd, prince of Deheubarth, but Owain and Cadwaladr of Gwynedd gave him help in his efforts. [5] He also relied on the Welsh clergy; his own chapter was heart and soul with with him; and Archdeacon Simeon of Bangor seems to have been on his side. [6] At any rate, Bernard interrupted the prescriptive rights of Canterbury over St. David's, and in his confidence caused the cross to be carried before him in his episcopal journeys.

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1. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 153, 154, 194.
2. Brut. ad 1112–1115.
3. Gir. Camb., Op. iii., 49; 52.
4. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 54.
5. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 59, 60.
6. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 109, 153, 155.

[1] Another triumph for the Welsh clergy was the filling of the see of Landaff, which had been vacant six years. [2] Uchtryd, who had been Archdeacon at any rate as early as 1126, when he had taken part in the agreement between the Bishop of Landaff and Earl Robert of Gloucester, had probably governed the see in the meantime. [3] He was looked upon with great disfavour by the stricter churchmen, and was afterwards branded by Giraldus as a man of scandalous life. As a matter of fact, he was a Celtic bishop, uninfluenced by the dictates of the Roman Church on the celibacy of the clergy, and had married. [4] His daughter Angharad, by her union with Iorwerth, brother of Morgan ap Owain of Caerlleon, had allied him with the great Welsh families of Gwent. Above all, he was a vigorous defender of the rights of his see, and in 1139 was elected Urban's successor.

[5] In the North, too, Dafydd had died, and the people and clergy of the church of Bangor, chose as bishop a pious clerk called Meurug. At the beginning of December, 1139, accompanied by Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and Sigefrid, Bishop of Chichester, he presented himself before King Stephen at Worcester to obtain confirmation of the election. Alleging the authority of Simeon, the Archdeacon of Bangor, a man whose influence was great and who seems to have been the head of the Anti-Norman party in Church matters in Gwynedd, Meurug refused to

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1. Urban died in 1134. See Hen. Hunt,, Rolls. Ed. p. 253.

2. Concordia inter. Urb. et Rob. cons. Glouc. in Lib. Land.

3. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 53.

4. Howel ap Iorwerth was his nephew. Brut. ad 1171, pp. 212—3

5. Cont., Fl. Wigorn ad ann. 1139.

swear fealty to the king; but he eventually did so, influenced by the arguments of his brother Bishops, and perhaps but too well pleased to show his independence of the popular archdeacon.

[1] Meurug was consecrated with Uchtryd of Llandaff early in 1140, by Archbishop Theobald, in the presence of the Bishops of Hereford and Exeter. [2] Owain and Cadwaladr, indignant that Meurug should have done fealty to the King of England in spite of their wishes and have obtained consecration from Canterbury, determined to oppose him with vigour. To the energetic Bernard of St. David's they appealed, complaining that Meurug had entered the church of Bangor like a thief, and asking Bernard to hold a conference with them to oppose Norman ecclesiastical influence. It was proposed that Owain and Cadwaladr should meet Anarawd ap Gruffudd and Bernard at Aberdyfi, on the 1st of November, 1140; but we are left in utter ignorance as to what was said and done at that conference, and we know nothing more of Meurug's life.

In the South, Bishop Uchtryd had at once commenced his war upon the Western monasteries which had continually been receiving grants of land in Wales from the Norman lords of the country. This had caused endless confusion; Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and the others claimed for their Welsh lands exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Welsh diocese. The first to attract Uchtryd's wrath was St. Peter's, Gloucester. Not only in Gwent and Glamorgan, but as far west as Cere-

1. Cont. Fl. Wigorn, ad ann. 1140.

2. Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 59.

digion had this monastery obtained a hold; [1]for there Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare had made to it donations of land at Ystrad Meurug and Llanpadarn and in the valley of the Clarach, in the early days of Bernard's episcopate. [2]In Glamorgan, Robert of Gloucester and his father-in-law, Fitz Hamon had given land themselves at Cynffig and Llancarfan; their nobles imitated this example, and Maurice de Londres and Gilbert de Turberville distinguished themselves by their generosity. [3]The former founded Ewenny Priory as a cell of Gloucester, and in 1141, confirmed all his grants in Ogmore, Gwyr, and Cydweli. Uchtryd's opposition to such grants roused Gilbert Foliot, who had become two years before Abbot of Gloucester through the influence of his kinsman Miles Fitz Walter, and was not a man to allow tampering with what he called his rights. He wrote to both Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and Bishop Henry of Winchester, who was then legate of the Apostolic See, complaining that churches were built in Llancarfan without his permission, and begging the prelates to extend their protection over De Londres' grants in Ogmore; [4]and letters are extant from both Canterbury and Winchester to Uchtryd, supporting Gilbert's claims.

[5]In 1143 Uchtryd was engaged in another quarrel with the Priory of Goldcliff in Monmouthshire. Theobald summoned the disputants before him, but Uchtryd was too

1. Cart. Monast. S. Petr. Glouc. ii. 73-9. Between 1115, the year of Bernard's consecration, and 1117 that of Gilbert's death.
2. Cart. Mon. S. Petr. Glouc. ii. 10, 14.
3. Hist. Sti. Petri. Glouc., i. 7.
4. Cart. Sti. Petri de Glouc. ii. 14
5. Epistles of Gill. Foliot., xlvi., xlvii., xlviii. See in Haddan and Stubbs, Council's, . 340—7

crafty to give up his case so easily, and alleging in succession the difficulties of the journey, the wiles of his foes, his own age and growing infirmities, he succeeded in forcing the Archbishop who went abroad before Christmas, to put off at Foliot's suggestion, the hearing of the case till his return in the following year.

[1] In 1145, Richard, the first abbot of Neath, died. [2] In the next year Uchtryd's quarrel with the monastery of Tewkesbury was brought to a close by the arbitration of Earl Robert of Gloucester. It was agreed that in return for the concession to the bishop of their whole tithe on land between Taff and Ely, and two-thirds of their tithe at Merthyr Mawr, Uchtryd would allow abbot Roger and the Convent to hold all tenths and benefices legally granted them. Meanwhile Uchtryd constantly maintained his own rights to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the diocese, and in the same year (1146), [3] he settled in the episcopal court a dispute between the monks of Bassaleg and Picot, chaplain of St. Woollos at Newport.

St. David's, then, practically independent under Bishop Bernard; at Llandaff, a Welsh bishop, holding the position of a Lord Marcher, fighting constantly for the rights of his see; and Bishop Meurug at Bangor probably reduced, as Owain's power grew, to a nullity of influence even in church matters; such is the picture we have of the position of the three sees.

The fourth Welsh bishopric had passed into inglorious obscurity since the day of Asaph and Kentigern. In no

1. Ann. of Margam. in Ann. Monast. i. 14.

2. Cotton MS., Cleop. A. vii. P. 686; N. Mon. ii. 67. Found in Clark: Cart. et Munim. de Glam. i. 1.

3. Cart. Monast. S. Petri Glouc. ii. 55.

authoritative record do we find reference to it, and though it is probable that as Gwynedd had Bangor, and Deheubarth, Mynyw, and Gwent and Glamorgan, an episcopal seat at Llandaff, so Powys must have had its own see and bishops; yet it is not till the year 1143 that we are clearly convinced of its existence. [1] Gilbert, who was consecrated Bishop by Archbishop Theobald at Lambeth before Bishops Robert of London and Ascelin of Rochester had probably been elect of St. Asaph for several years; his Norman name, his profession of allegiance to Canterbury, and the fact that Owain Gwynedd had been practically master of St. Asaph and the country around since the outbreak of revolt, make it probable that he never visited his see.

1. See Gerv. Cant. i 126.

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF WALES FROM 1143 TO 1147.

Owain Gwynedd; his policy of union with South Wales—Anarawd of Gruffudd slain by the troops of Cadwaladr of Gwynedd—Cadwaladr driven by Owain to Ireland—Relations between Ireland and North Wales at this time—Cadwaladr returns with mercenaries from Ireland—Reconciliation with Owain—Defeat of the mercenaries—Anarchy in Central Wales—Conquest of Maelienydd and Elfael by Hugh de Mortimer—Invasion of South Wales by Gilbert Strongbow—He rebuilds Caerfyrddin—He is defeated at Aberteifi, 1145—Position of Nest's descendants in Dyfed—Gilbert builds a castle at Dinweileir—It is taken by Cadell ap Gruffudd—Capture of Caerfyrddin and Llanstephan by the Welsh—Death of Gilbert Strongbow, 1147—Treaty between Cadell ap Gruffudd and the Fitzgeralds—They attack the Flemings and take Castell Gwys—War between Owain Gwynedd and the Earl of Chester—Ravaging of the Earl's lands—Battle of Nantwich—Capture of Gwyddgrug by the Welsh—War between Stephen and the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford—Decay of Matilda's Party—Death of Robert of Gloucester, 1147—Glamorgan in his lifetime—His foundations.

SINCE their father's death Owain and Cadwaladr had acted together in public affairs. Of great moderation and perspicacity, Owain pursued throughout his life a policy of union with the princes of Deheubarth. We have seen that he worked hand in hand with his nephew Anarawd both in political and ecclesiastical matters. He now proposed to marry one of his daughters to the young prince, but it appears that neither his brother Cadwaladr [1] nor the lady herself looked with favour on the match. [2] At any rate, in 1143 Anarawd was treacherously slain by the household troops of Cadwaladr. Owain took this ill and dispatched his son Howel against the offender. Cadwaladr had received a considerable portion of Ceredigion after its

1. The words :—A mynnu Kadwaladr y vrawt a wnaeth,—in the Brut. seem to suggest that she desired marriage with Cadwaladr, her uncle. The compiler of the Gwentian Chronicle, shocked perhaps at the suggestion, has given a different version.

2. Brut. ad 1142=3; Ann. Camb.

conquest from the Normans, and this Howel invaded; the young man showed in this his first campaign his soldierly qualities, for he rapidly conquered the country and burnt his uncle's castle at Aberystwyth.

[1] Cadwaladr, unable singlehanded to cope with Owain, sent to Ireland for help. Gwynedd was more than any other part of Wales in connection with the neighbouring isle. There probably was the last stronghold of the Goidelic Celts against the conquering Brythons; [2] there the Scandinavian pirates who had made Erin their home, had carried on their fiercest ravages. [3] Cynan ab Iago had married a Dane, daughter of Olaf of Dublin, and his son Gruffudd was brought up in youth in his mother's home. [4] Howel himself was the son, according to the Gwentian Chronicle, of Owain Gwynedd by an Irishwoman named Pyfog. Not only Gruffudd ap Cynan, but Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, Gruffudd ap Rhys and others had found a safe shelter on the other side of the Channel in the time of misfortune, and Gruffudd ap Cynan introduced Irish customs at his courts and Irish music at his feasts. The Irish slave market seems to have been the great outlet for the captives made by the Welsh in war, and the Irish piratical fleets, the great recourse of the Welsh princes after defeat. These facts show the close intercourse between Ireland and Gwynedd, more especially during the first part of the twelfth Century.

Cadwaladr, then, found no difficulty in obtaining a fleet from Dublin, commanded by a son of [5] Turcall, who was probably a brother of Raghnall, the reigning King.

1. Brut. ad 1143–4; Ann. Camb.
2. Brut. ad 969, 970, 977, 979, 986, &c.
3. See Hanes Gruffudd in Myv. Arch. p. 722.
4. Gwentian Chron. ad 1169.
5. Turcall was still living in 1143 [Ann. Loch Ce ad ann.] His son Raghnall perished in battle in 1146. [Chron. Scot. ad ann.]

Othir, son of another Othir, and a son of Cherulf are mentioned as taking part in the expedition. With these [1] the Welsh prince landed at Abermenai. But before a conflict could take place, a reconciliation was brought about between the brothers by the noblemen of Gwynedd, and Cadawaldr received his lands anew. [2] On hearing this, the commanders of the Irish fleet refused to liberate him, until two thousand bondmen were handed over to them as the price of his ransom. Owain waited for his brother's liberation before he took the offensive against the enemy. He was victorious in the battle, many of them were slain, many taken ; the rest hastily returned to Dublin.

While this was going on, the fearful anarchy consequent on the death of Madog ab Idnerth and the wild quarrelling of his sons, had given an opening to the Normans to recover some of their old power in the land between Glamorgan and Powys. Miles Fitzwalter had been the ruling spirit in that region, and no doubt handed over a suzerainty over Brycheiniog to his son Roger. His death was the commencement of the disintegration of the powerful party which had supported Matilda ; and from that time onwards the Marcher Nobles turned once more a closer attention to Wales. [3] In 1144 Hugh, son of Ralph de Mortimer, reconquered Maelienydd from the sons of Madog, and as a means of keeping it, built the castle of Gemaron. By the banks of Edw, a few miles from where

1. In 1144. See Brut. ad 1143=4 ; Ann. Camb. ad 1144.

2. Some MSS. of the Brut. say the pirates [called Germanwyr] blinded Cadwaladr. This is very improbable, knowing what we do of his after life. It is probably due to a confusion by the scribe of the words dellis and delis. Both the MSS. of the Ann. Camb. say tenuerunt.

3. See Brut. and Ann. Camb.—The Gwentian Chron. wrongly ascribes the building of these castles to Randulf of Chester. The castles are also wrongly named. Colunwy=Clun in Shropshire. —Rev. Thos. Price in his "Hanes Cymru," p. 546, attributes them to Hugh, Randulf of Chester's son. This Hugh was a child in 1144, and probably still a minor at his father's death in Dec. 1153.—By too great reliance on the aforesaid chronicle, The "Hanes Cymru" has been made utterly useless for this period.

its waters mingle with the Wye, the castle of Colwyn was built in Elfael, and that province also became subjected to Norman rule. [1] In the next year, 1145, Hugh de Mortimer defeated Rhys ap Howel and took him prisoner, with many of his men, keeping him in close confinement for two years. [2] In 1146 he killed Maredudd, a son of Madog ap Idnerth, [3] and in 1147 blinded Rhys ap Howel in his prison. After the death of their brother, Cadwallon and Einion Clud, the surviving sons of Madog, seem to have divided their father's lands between them ; for we henceforword find the name of Cadwallon and his sons connected with Maelienydd, and that of Einion with Elfael.

While the house of Mortimer was commencing that connection with Central Wales which was not to cease even when the final subjection of the Country was brought about, another noble family was making a similar effort to recover lost ground in the South. Gilbert Strongbow, who had received the title of Earl of Pembroke, and was a son of [4] Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare, had tired of a civil war, which was alike without interest or profit, [5] and in 1145 appeared in South Wales to reconquer the lands lost after the death of his brother Richard, some nine years before. He invaded Cantref Mawr, recovered Caerfyrddin and rebuilt its castle, and erected another at Llanstephan to hold the cwmwd of Mabudrud ; and then marched west, towards Ceredigion. From what we can gather of the course of events, these successes must have startled Cadell, who since Anarawd's death had become the chief prince of

1. Brut. ad 1144=5 ; Ann. Camb. 2. Brut. ad 1145=6 ; Ann. Camb. 3. Ann. Camb. ad 1148=7.

4. In 1141 Gilbert Fitz Gilbert attempted to obtain from the King some of the castles of his nephew, Gilbert Fitz Richard, Earl of Clare, who was kept as a hostage for Randulf of Chester. For these events, and also Gilbert's consequent revolt, see Gesta Stephani, pp. 422–4.

5. Brut. 1144=5 ; Ann. Camb.

Deheubarth, and assistance was asked from Gwynedd. Owain's two sons, Howel and Cynan, hastened south to help their kindsmen ; [1] a great battle was fought with the enemy at Aberteifi ; victory again crowned the efforts of the Welsh princes. Howel and Cynan returned home with vast booty.

Gilbert's cause was that of the Normans who still held lands in Dyfed. [2] For whether they themselves by their ability and valour kept their grasp over the country after the great defeat of Crugmawr, or the Welsh recognized their claims through a daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, it is certain that the descendants of the famous Nest were still masters of the seven old cantrefs of Dyfed. Her bastard by King Henry held Arberth and the cantref of Pebidiog, which he had possibly acquired by purchase from the Bishop of St. David's ; William, the eldest of her sons by Gerald, had suceeded the latter in Penfro ; of his own brothers, the one David, had entered the Church, and become canon of St. David's and archdeacon of Ceredigion, the other, Maurice, was lord of Llanstephan. Robert, Nest's son by the Constable Stephen, had succeeded his father at Cardigan, and inherited the Cantref of Cemaes from his uncle Robert Fitz Martin. Of those of her sons whose paternity is less known, [3] William Fitz Hay had St. Clare, Walter and Howel two small lordships at Llanbedr and Felffre. Both her daughters, Angharad and Gwladys, had married nobles of the district. The former

1. The battle of Aberteifi is placed after Gilbert's invasion, but what appears to be the right order is given in the C. MSS. used for the Ann. Camb.

2. For the possessions of the family, see Gir. Camb. i. 58—60.

3. He is by Giraldus, called Wm. Hay at i. 59 ; Wm. Fitz Hay at i. 28 ; the Brut. calls him Gwilim a Aed ; and Brut. y Saeson in Myv. Arch. p. 677, William or Hay.

was wife of William de Barri, lord of the cwmwd of Maenorbir, and [1] about this time became mother of Giraldus Cambrensis. It was evident that alliance with so powerful a family was valuable, and Gilbert relied on them as well as on the Flemings of the Cantref of Rhos, who had recovered from their defeat, but to vow vengeance on the descendants of Gruffudd.

[2] In the winter, probably, De Clare built the castle of Dinweileir. The erection of so advanced an outpost again aroused Cadell, who, in 1146 fought against it with his brothers, Maredudd and Rhys, took it by force, and put the garrison to the sword. Howel ab Owain now arrived from Gwynedd, and the two princes invested Caerfyrddin. At all times has this position, by its nature, the key of South-west Wales, attracted the envy of the contending races by its importance in war. [3] After a desperate struggle it was taken, and its garrison suffered the same fate as that of Dinweileir. In the peninsula between the estuaries of Taf and Tywi, crowning a bold hill overlooking the waves of the bay, the castle of Llanstephan next challenged the efforts of the Welsh princes. [4] It too fell, and was handed over to the custody of Maredudd ap Gruffudd, who was now sixteen. The Fitz Geralds and their half-brother William Fitz Hay, with a strong force of French and Flemings, attacked it a few days after, but the valour and skill of Maredudd and the great strength of the place baffled them, and they withdrew with loss. This success enhanced the growing popularity of Maredudd, and henceforward he is

1. In 1147 according to J. S. Brewer, in Roll's Ed. of Gir. Camb., Vol. i. preface, p. x. and Note.
2. Brut. ad 1145=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1147=6.
3. Brut. ad 1145=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1147–6.
4. Brut. ad 1145=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1147=6. Two MMS. of the Brut. say that Maredudd was beseiged in Caerfyddin.

found taking a leading part in every campaign in Deheubarth. [1] It had probably the effect of bringing about a treaty between the Fitz Geralds and Cadell, to which the death of Gilbert Strongbow in 1147 also perhaps contributed. At any rate, in that year we find them united in attacking the castle of Gwys in Deugleddyf. It resisted with vigour. Once again the warlike Howel was summoned from the North. He gathered a strong force and joined his allies. They received him with honour and left to him the conduct of the seige, and he brought it to a successful issue before returning to Gwynedd.

There Owain's great Norman enemy was Earl Ranulf of Chester. [2] This noble had invaded North Wales after King Henry's death, but his efforts to oppose the revolt had been distinctly unsuccessful. Owain's power grew steadily. His reconciliation with Cadwaladr in 1144 enabled him to act with vigour. While his sons, Howel and Cynan, were gaining fame and influence in the South, [3] Owain's troops in 1145 ravaged the lands of Ranulf, burnt the towns and bore off much booty. Ranulf, who had already joined Stephen at the seige of Wallingford, went, in 1146, to Northampton, where the court was. He complained of the savage harrying of the Welsh bands in his domains, and implored the king, by his presence at the head of an expedition, to strike terror into the hearts of his foes. Stephen's counsellors reminded him of the invariable accompaniments of a Welsh invasion, the difficulties of the country, the dangers of ambush, the impossibility of keeping a sufficient supply of troops for an army. They suggested

1. Brut. ad ann. 1146=7; Ann. Camb. B. MS. ad 1149, C. MS. ad 1148=1147.
2. Sym. Dunelm. ii. 287. 3. Gesta Stephani, pp. 419—421.

treachery on the part of the Earl, whose notoriously unscrupulous and faithless character gave colour to the charge. He was thrust into prison, and not allowed to go free until he had yielded the town and castle of Lincoln. This action was far from diplomatic, and turned Chester into an irreconcilable enemy of Stephen. [1] The Welsh took advantage of his captivity to burst into the Cheshire valleys, and harass them with fire and sword. They were intercepted at Nantwich, and repulsed into their own borders. But the year closed with another triumph for them; the strong castle [2] of Gwyddgrug in Tegeingl, which had long resisted attack, was taken by the household troops of Owain and burnt, and the men of the garrison taken prisoners. The Chronicles tell us how Owain Gwynedd had just been prostrated by grief for the loss of his son Rhun, a young prince of great gift and promise, but the news of the great success of his troops aroused him again to his wonted energy, and filled him with great joy. A narrow strip of land on the sea coast, studded with castles, was all that was left to the Normans in North Wales.

[3] The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford continued to lead the West against Stephen. The king was defeated in 1143 at Wilton. The two Earls in the following year came upon him with a large force and offered battle near Tetbury, but from fear of the superior numbers of the enemy, and the fierce rush of the Welsh auxiliaries, he was induced by his advisers to refuse it. But this was the last triumph of Matilda's party. The king avenged himself

1. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa i. 129; See J. Brompton.
2. Mold in Flintshire. For what follows see Brut. an 1145=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1147=6.
3. See Gest. Steph. pp. 397—8, 408—10; Hent. Hunt; Gerv. Cant. i. 125—6.

by taking the new castle of the Earl of Hereford at Winchcombe by assault, and ravaging the lands of Hugh Bigod. In 1145 he took Farringdon Castle, and this seems to have marked a decisive turn in his fortunes.

The party which had put forward Matilda's personal claims to the crown of England, steadily decayed. Its death came with that of Robert of Gloucester. [1] This prince, alike from his high birth and the immense power he derived very largely from his Welsh lordship in Glamorgan, and above all, by his proved moderation, more than any other Norman, seems to have had favour with the Welsh nation. His attention to Glamorgan had probably been given before his father's death, and it is to him that is due the consolidation of Fitz Hamon's conquest. He took the place of arbiter in the disputes between Norman marcher lords and the Welsh mountain chiefs, between the Welsh bishops and the foreign monasteries. [2] He himself came to an agreement with both Bishop Urban and the descendants of Iestin ap Gwrgant, whom tradition describes as the last Welsh prince of the district, and whose son Caradog was left in the position of a Norman lord Marcher, in a position as one writer has well said, which was never retained in England by men of Saxon descent. Other sons of Iestin were established at Solfen and Rhuthyn, and Miscyn and Sainghenydd became the names of Welsh lordships not

1. He was Henry's eldest bastard—How the legend arose that he was a son by Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, I find it difficult to ascertain, as no reference to it is found in any Twelfth Century authority. It occurs in that very late, very untrustworthy Gwentian Chron. ad ann. 1110. To the same year it refers:—(*a*) the blinding of Madog ap Rhirid 1113 [Brut. ad 1110—3]; (*b*) the death of Robert Fitz Aymon, 1107 [Ann. Theok.]; (*c*) the marriage of Robert of Gloucester and Fitz Hamon's daughter, probably in or shortly before 1116; (*d*) the taking of Cardiff by Ifor Bach, who is called son of Cedrych, and not as he should be, son of Meurug, who is connected with Earl Robert, not as he should be, with Earl William, 1158, [Ann. Marg.; Gir. Camb. vi. 63]—The strongest argument against this late tradition is that Giraldus does not speak of Robert in the list of Nest's descendants, a very unlikely omission in one so proud of his kindred; [op. i. 58—60.]

2. Concordia inter Urb. episc. et Rob. cons. Glouc. in Lib. Land—See Clarke's Land of Morgan.

belonging to the house of Iestin. Robert's own castles were at Cardiff and Cynffig, and the lands of his vassal Norman nobles lay chiefly between the two. The most powerful was De Londres, who, in addition to having lands in Ogmore, was lord of Cydweli. Turberville held Coety, and Siward, Talafan and Merthyr Mawr, while the three other families of Granville, Umfraville and St. Quintin also had broad lands near the coast.

Robert was a great benefactor of the Norman monasteries, and in the last year of his life, gave another proof of religious munificence by the foundation of the [1] priory of Cardiff and the [2] Cistercian Abbey of Margam. [3] He died on the 31st of October, 1147.

1. Hadden and Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Docts. i. 351, referring to Dugd. Mon. iv. 632, vi. 431.
2. Ann. Marg. ad 1147.—For other authorities see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils i. 351.
3. Brut. ad 1146=7; Ann. Camb. ad 1149=7; Ann. Marg., Ann. Theokesb.

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN WALES FROM 1143 TO 1148.

The foundation of Monasteries by the Normans—Cwmhir a Welsh foundation—Ty Gwyn—Caerfyrddin—Wales and the Crusades—Bernard of St. David's negotiates with the popes for the recognition of his claims as metropolitan of Wales—Council of Rheims in April, 1148—Decision postponed—Terrible mortality in Wales during 1148—Death of Bishop Bernard—Election of a Welshman by the chapter cancelled—David Fitz Gerald consecrated as Bernard's successor.

THIS was indeed a period at which monasteries multiplied in the country. It is probable that the Normans looked to them as to their castles as a means of holding their Conquest, and veiled their designs by granting land for cultivation, for the clearing of forest ground and the recovery of marshy soil. [1] Certain it is that the first foundations were highly unpopular with the Welsh, and were distinctly Norman in spirit. Only one monastery of the first half of the twelfth century is claimed as a Welsh foundation; Cwmhir was established in 1143, it is stated, by Cadwallon, son of Madog, and lord of Maelienydd. In a beautiful and secluded vale, where flow the waters of Clywedog, verily a rugged region, an abbey was built for sixty Cistercian monks. Nothing is against it; on the contrary, the fact that Cwmhir was a house of the Cistercian order, the most popular of the Orders on Welsh soil, added to the fact that Maelienydd was not reconquered by the Normans till the next year, are in favour of the claim, and we know that the descendants of Cadwallon were buried in the abbey.

1. Dugd. Mon. v. 458.—Fundata est Cwmhyre in Wallia, filia Blanchland.

[1] In the same year as Cwmhir was founded, another body of Cistercian monks was introduced into Wales by Bishop Bernard, and established at Trefgarn in the cantref of Deugleddyf. Thence they must have moved almost immediately, to occupy the far more famous site of Whitland or Ty Gwyn ar Daf, where a Celtic monastery had long before existed, and it was believed that Howel Dda had gathered the Welsh scholars and clerics for the compilation of his code of Laws.

[2] And then came the Priory of Caerfyrddin to which possibly we are indebted for the Black Book, the oldest continuous manuscript in the old language of the Cymry.

All these monastic establishments on Welsh soil testify to the fervour of the Normans of the country rather than to that of the Welsh themselves. Powys and Gwynedd, which had been less tainted by foreign invasion and conquest never saw [3] this multiplication of the religious houses of a foreign Church, and further, the ecclesiastical energies of the Welsh people were for the moment working in another direction.

[4] For we must not suppose that Wales was devoid of the christian enthusiasm which created the Crusades. Even now Europe was preparing, at the call of Innocent III, for a new expedition to the Holy Land. And we have evidence that many Welsh pilgrims, chiefly from Dyfed and Ceredigion, were drowned in 1144 on their way to Jerusalem.

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1. Ann. Camb. ad 1144.

2. Councils and Eccl. Docts. of Haddan and Stubbs i. 351, referring to Dugdale, Mon. iv. 632, vi. 431. See the Palaeographical Introduction of Gwenogfryn Evans to the Black Book of Caerfyrddin.

3. See Gerv. Cant. ii. 443—4.

4. Brut. ad 1143=4; C. MS. of Ann. Camb.—Cf. Gwentian Chron. ad 1145.

[1] Pope Innocent, too, had died in 1143, and Bernard at once renewed his suit at the court of Rome. Celestine II.'s short reign had no influence on the question, but Lucius II. did not go further than Innocent; in a letter of the 14th of May, 1144, he assured Bernard, as his predecessor had done, that he would inquire into the claim of David's to metropolitan authority. He was pope but eleven months, and Eugenius III., who succeeded, was more inclined to listen to Bernard's plea, and to that of the Chapter who forwarded letters to him, immediately after his accession, in defence of the rights of the see. [2] The Sulien, son of Rhygyfarch who died at the close of 1146, was probably the head of the Welsh party who preserved the traditions of the Celtic Church under the great Sulien.

[3] Eugenius summoned the bishop of St. David's to appear before him at the Council to be held at Rheims in March, 1148. We still have a letter of Bernard to Archdeacon Simeon of Bangor, asking him to accompany him and give evidence in his favour. Robert, Bishop of Bath, on the other hand testified against him, and swore to his oath of allegiance and to the suffragan character of his see. [4] Bernard attempted to influence Eugenius by promising a substantial increase in the Papal revenues derivable from Wales. [5] At Meaux on the 28th of June, the Pope gave judgment against Bernard personally, but informed Theobald that he fixed the feast of St. Luke in the following year for definitely ascertaining the rights of St. David's as a see.

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1. Gerv. Cant. ii. 443—4.

2. Brut. ad 1145=6., he died on the 22nd of September.—One MS. says the 21st of October.

3. Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 59.—Testimonium Roberti Bathoniensis in MS. Cott. Cleop. E 1.

4. Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 55, 78, 175.

5. Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 51—2, 180—1.

[1] But 1148 had been marked in Wales as a season of fearful mortality, and among the famous victims was Bernard. His death put an end for half a century to the efforts of St. David's for ecclesiastical independence of Canterbury, and gave an opportunity for the outbreak of the animosity which had been brewing, during his rule of the see, between the Welsh party and the Anglo-Norman. [2] The former desired a bishop of pure Welsh blood, keeping to the traditions of the old Celtic church, and being in a majority on the Chapter, they succeeded in securing the choice of a man worthy of the position. But the others had the ear of Archbishop Theobald, and induced him to cancel the election. Their nominee was David Fitz Gerald, Archdeacon of Ceredigion, in whose veins ran both Welsh and Norman blood, and who was willing to renew the oath of allegiance to Canterbury and to desist from the pursuit of St. David's archiepiscopal claim. [3] Theobald approved of him, and he was consecrated on the 19th of December, 1148.

This was an evil day for the Welsh Church. It never had the same opportunity of obtaining a nominee of its own; as on this occasion, so twice again such were thrust aside, and an obedient servant of Canterbury consecrated. [4] David spent the years of his episcopate in ceaseless conflict with his chapter, and in distinct opposition to the more worthy policy of Bernard, who, with all his faults, had worked for what were the interests of the majority of his flock, his successor, in the midst of a Welsh population, gave himself to the Norman party and to a disgraceful nepotism.

1. Brut. ad 1147=8. 2. Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 431 and 154.
3. Gerv. Cant. i., 138; Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 431; his professio in MS. Cott. Cleopatra E. 1. The 19th of December fell on a Sunday in 1148.
4. Gir. Camb. Op. iii. 431—4.

CHAPTER V.

THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF WALES FROM 1147 TO 1154.

Renewed war between Owain and Cadwaladr—Howel invades Meirionydd—Storming of Cynfael Castle, 1147—Cadwaladr driven before 1152 from North Ceredigion and Mon.—Owain wars with Powys—Building of Oswestry Castle—Policy of Madog ap Maredudd—He obtains help from Ranulf of Chester—Battle of Cwnsyllt, 1150—Power of Owain in Powys—Death of Ranulf, 1153—Wars of the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys in South Wales—Their conquest of South Ceredigion, 1150—Their war with North Wales and occupation of North Ceredigion, 1151—Cadell, wounded by the Normans, retires from active life—Maredudd and Rhys burn Aberllychwr, 1151—Renewal of the war with Howel in North Ceredigion, 1153—Capture of Tenby—Death of Bishop Uchtryd of Llandaff—Consecration of Nicholas ap Gwrgant—His mediation between Welsh and Normans—Restoration of the old Celtic Churches—Maredudd and Rhys invade Glamorgan—Rhys harries Cyfeiliog—Owain's family difficulties—His second marriage.

[1] IN 1147 the disagreement between Owain and Cadwaladr, soothed into peace three years before, broke out anew. Hardly had Howel returned from his expedition against the castle of Gwys, when war began, and he and his brother Cynan, each with a separate force, marched into Meirionydd. They united before the castle built by Cadwaladr at Cynfael, of which Morfran, abbot of Ty Gwyn, was Constable, and after vainly endeavouring by threats and promises to induce its surrender, they had recourse to force and took it by storm. [2] The loss of Meirionydd split Cadwaladr's possessions into two halves, and thinking himself unable to retain both, he built a castle in 1149 at Llanrhystud, not far from the sea; and gave both it and his share of Ceredigion to his son Caedfan,

1. See Brut. ad 1146=7; Ann. Camb. ad 1148–7; also "Canu a Gant Kyndelw y Hywel M. Ewein," in Myv. Arch., p. 117. Morfran is wrongly called by the Gwentian Brut., Merfyn.

2. Brut. ad 1148=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1151=49; Cadwaladr's son is invariably called Cadfan in the two MSS. used for the Ann. Camb; also in the Brut. y Tywysogion at the 1149–50 entry, but at 1148=9, he is called Cadwgan by all MSS. The Brut. y Saeson of the Myv. Arch follows the B. y Tywysogion.

while keeping his northern possessions in his own hands; [1] but in 1150 Howel attacked Cadfan, took him prisoner, captured Llanrhystud and conquered North Ceredigion, [2] and in 1152 Owain drove Cadwaladr himself from his last stronghold in Mon.

Meanwhile Owain had gone to war with Powys. Madog ap Maredudd, like the other Welsh princes of his time, took advantage of Stephen's misrule to extend his own power, and recovered no doubt all the ground lost in the preceding reign. [3] In 1149 he built a castle at Oswestry, on territory which had been in English hands for centuries. Though his rule appears to have been beneficial and peaceful, Powys during this time was not altogether free from gravelkind warfare, [4] and in 1146 Madog's cousin Meurug Tybodiad, son of Madog ap Rhirid, was killed in treachery by his own men. [5] The prince, however, averted civil broils by a wise arrangement with his nephews Owain and Meurug, the sons of his brother Gruffudd. In 1149 he gave them in South West Powys, the Cantref of Cyfeiliog, from which henceforward Owain, the elder of the two, derived the name by which he is best known.

During the whole of the time, the power of Gwynedd had steadily increased, and although we have no clear authority for the statement, yet it seems that Owain had established some sort of supremacy over Powys. [6] In 1149 he built a castle in the cwmwd of Ial, a fact which does much to show the great extent of his direct influence. It

1. Brut. ad 1149=50; Ann. Camb. ad 1153=50. 2. Brut. ad 1151=2.
3. Brut. ad 1148=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1151=49. Oswestry is the Welsh Croesoswallt
4. Brut. ad 1145=6; Ann. Camb.
5. Brut. ad 1148=9, Ann. Camb., ad 1151=49. Gruffudd died in 1113. See Brut. ad 1125=8.
6. Brut. ad 1148=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1151=49. Ial is the English Yale.

had the effect of terrifying Madog into revolt, and to this he was no doubt urged as much by advice and promise of assistance from Earl Ranulf of Chester as by his own fears. [1] At any rate, he was not successful, the forces of Owain blocked his advance at the pass of Cwnsyllt in Tegeingl, the auxiliary forces which Chester had supplied were cut to pieces, and Madog's own troops fled from the field. The failure of this attempt increased Owain's hold, and diminished Norman influence, for some time in Powys; [2] and perhaps we may see some result of a more national policy in the slaying of Stephen Fitz Baldwin, a noble of the Shropshire marches, by Prince Llewelyn, Madog's son, in 1152. It was not till Henry Plantagenet had firmly established himself on the English throne, that Madog renewed his intrigues against Owain Gwynedd.

The latter's enemy, Ranulf de Gernons, had been baffled at Cwnsyllt. But in England his power had never been so formidable. Careless of scruple, and mindful of nought but his own gain, he extorted in return for his promise of support, [3] first from Stephen and then from the young Plantagenet, charters making to the great noble, concessions so extraordinary, that we can only suppose that they were given with the object of gaining time. [4] His immense power was at its height, when still in the prime of life, he was struck down, at the close of 1153, by death. [5] William Peveril whose lands had been granted to

1. Brut. ad 1149=50. Cwnsyllt is the English Coleshill in Flint.

2. Brut. ad 1151=2.

3. Reports of the Depy. Keeper of the Pubc. Records, No. 31, p. 2; Cott. Chart. XVII. 2; Dugdale, Baronage, i., 39.

4. On the 16th of December probably. See R. de Monte ad 1152=3; Gerv. Cant. i., 155; Brut. y Tywysogion ad 1152=3; Ann. Camb. ad 1154=3.

5. Dudgale, Baron. i., 437. His estates forfeited early in 1155 February (.) See R. de Monte ad 1155

Chester by Henry's charter, was accused of having removed him by poison, and in the next year, his lands were forfeited for the crime. [1] Ranulf was succeeded in his earldom by Hugh, a son begotten of Maud, daughter of Robert de Gloucester.

The sons of Gruffudd in South Wales were during this time engaged in ceaseless warfare, chiefly with the object of extending their influence to the North and East of Ystrad Tywi. [2] In 1150 Cadell repaired the important castle of Caerfyrddin, [3] and ravaged the lands of De Londres in Cydweli. [4] With his two brothers Maredudd and Rhys, he led an army into Ceredigion, and subdued it as far as the river Aeron. Before the close of the year, Ceredigion north of the river belonged to Howel, son of Owain Gwynedd, and Ceredigion south of it to the three sons of Gruffudd. This did not last, and early in February, 1151, the long peace between North and South Wales was broken. The sons of Gruffudd marched into Howel's territory, took Llanrhystud Castle after a long siege, and reduced to submission all the North of Ceredigion except the castle of Pengwern yn Llanfihangel which successfully resisted their assaults. They bore off many prisoners and much booty. Soon after Howel ab Owain came, took Llanrhystud Castle by force, burnt it and put the garrison to the sword. In order to hold the conquered country, the sons of Gruffudd then rebuilt the castle of Ystrad Meurug

1. R. de Monte ad 1152=3.

2. Brut. ad 1149–50; Ann. Camb. ad 1153–50. The Ann. Camb. speak only of the ravaging of Cydweli. The two most inaccurate MSS. used for the Rolls Edtn. of the Brut. say Cydweli was fortified by Cadell, by an evident omission in transcribing the full version found in the three best MSS. of that chronicle.

3. Maurice de Londres was probably still alive in 1149. At any rate his son William's "Confirmatio" of grants was made in the lifetime of Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff, 1149–1154. It was attested by Adeliza, Maurice's widow. By her he had two other sons, Richard and John.

4. Brut. ad 1149, 1150, 1151; Ann. Camb. ad 1151, 1154=1150, 1151.

destroyed fourteen years before; and Howel, hoping to put a check to further advance, put up again that of Humfrey in the Vale of Calettwr.

[1] Not long after, Cadell, the eldest of the three brothers, while hunting near Tenby, was surprised by a party of Normans, and so severely wounded that he was left for dead. He escaped, however, but took no further part in the affairs of the country. [2] In the fervour of his gratefulness, he undertook two years later a pilgrimage to Rome, and left to his brothers the administration of his lands. He must have remained at least two years abroad, but we have no means of fixing the date of his return. Whether the wound he had received was such as to affect his intelligence, or his religious fervour was not the passion of a day, certainly he is never again mentioned as ruling any part of Deheubarth; and the fact that [3] he assumed the religious habit at his brother's monastery at Ystrad Fflur, and died in 1175 of a severe distemper, are not without tending to show that both solutions are possible.

[4] Maredudd and Rhys, left alone in command of the forces of Deheubarth, immediately made an expedition into the peninsular of Gwyr in which the Fleming settlements were prosperous and unpopular, and several Norman nobles held lands. They fought against the castle of Aberllychwr that had been built on the eastern shore of the estuary, where it widens out towards the Channel. They took and burnt it and devastated the country. [5] In the same year, 1151, the brothers repaired the strong castle of Dinweileir,

1. Brut. ad 1150=1; Ann. Camb. ad 1154=1.
2. Brut. ad 1152=3; Ann. Camb. ad 1157=6. The latter must be wrong.
3. Brut. ad 1175.
4. Brut. ad 1150=1; Ann. Camb. ad 1154=1.
5. See Brut. ad 1150=2; 1151=3.

which had been dismantled after its capture from De Clare. After a year of peace with Howel, they again led their forces into his territory early in 1153, reduced the Cantref of Penwedig, and took and dismantled the castle he had built. Then, in revenge for the outrage on their brother Cadell, they attacked the castle of Tenby, took it by night, and handed it over to William Fitz Gerald, Lord of Pembroke, with whom they were still in alliance. Another military expedition of the same year was carried out by Rhys who laid waste the castle of Ystrad Cyngen.

[1] Robert of Gloucester had been succeeded by his son William, a man already somewhat advanced in years. The new Earl was devoid of much energy, and as long as she lived, his mother Mabel, in whom the blood of Fitz Hamon ran strong, took more part than he in the affairs of Glamorgan. Very shortly after his accession, the Bishopric of Llandaff became vacant. [2] The vigorous Uchtryd died in 1148 after earning the name of Defender of the Churches. [3] Nicholas ap Gwrgant was consecrated bishop on the 14th of March, 1149, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

From what we know of him, his election was a second triumph for the Welsh party, and during his episcopate he showed much of his predecessor's force of character. Nicholas gained influence both with the Normans and with the Welsh, and was called upon to mediate between Earl William and the lord of Aberafan, Caradog ab Iestin. He obtained from the former, the confirmation of Robert's

1. William is first spoken of as Castellan of Bristol in 1140 in the Contn. of Flor. Wigorn. For his character portrayed by a political opponent, see Gest. Steph. ed. Bohn. p.p. 426—9.

2. Brut. ad 1147=8. Gwrthwynel wr yr eglwyssev. Ann. Camb. ad 1150=1148. Ann. Theokesb. ad 1148. See also the Gwent. Chron. ad 1146.

3. Liber Landavensis, ed. Evans, p.p. 295—7.

grants to his Welsh subjects, that is, government according to the Welsh laws, priviiege of market, and the right of every Cymro to freedom except in case of proven murder. [1] He also applied himself to restore the old Celtic Churches, crumbling in ruins and deserted since the conquest. Llancarfan, Llanilltyd, Llandydoch, Llanffagan, and many more recovered the right of sanctuary. We are told that these reforms made Glamorgan a haven to which fled all who tired of Norman injustice or wild tribal warfare.

[2] Still war did not cease to visit Glamorgan, and in 1153 Maredudd and Rhys of Deheubarth laid waste the Vale of Afan. The pretext for this invasion is not known; the Gwentian Chronicle affirms that the lord of Aberafan refused to join in a confederacy of the Welsh princes against the Normans, satisfied perhaps with his own position as a great Lord Marcher. In May his castle was burnt, the garrison slaughtered, and immense spoil borne away by the victors. This was not the last exploit of the year. [3] A little after Rhys harried the Cantref of Cyfeiliog, belonging to Owain ap Gruffudd ap Maredudd, a prince who was, or afterwards became his own son-in law. But this bond did not imply any sympathy between the princes, and for many years they remained persistent enemies.

More, possibly than any Welsh prince of his day, Owain Gwynedd, was unfortunate with his own family. Such a result was to be expected from his curious matrimonial relations and the evils of gavelkind. He was ten

1. The Gwentian Chronicle ad 1150.

2. Brut. ad 1152=3. The Gwentian Chron. ad 1151 says Morgan ap Caradog ap Iestin was lord of Aberafan. But I am not clear that Caradog was dead, and more evidence is required before we accept the statement of a document which speaks of the grandsons of Iestin as warring in 1090. See App. iv.

3. The Brut says it was the second time he was harrying Cyfeiliog. The Ann. Camb. merely says "Resus vastavit Keiwelauc."

years at war with Cadwaladr; [1] in 1150 he was forced to imprison his son Cynan; [2] two years later he blinded and castrated his nephew Cunedda, the son of his brother Cadwallon, from fear of his contending for succession. Some time before this, he must have married a second time. Gwladus, daughter of Llywarch ap Trahaiarn, by whom he had his eldest son Iorwerth, was no doubt dead, [3] and he chose Chrisiant, daughter of Goronwy ab Owain ab Edwin, to replace her. This lady was his first cousin, and within the degrees prohibited by the Roman Church. [4] Such a connection between cousins, however, was by no means rare among the princes of Wales at this time. Incessant intermarriage took place among the chief families of the country, and especially the five greater clans. Owain had children by his first cousin, [5] Rhys by his niece, [6] and it may be a correct interpretation of a passage in the Brut to suppose that one of Owain's daughters preferred marriage with her uncle Cadwaladr to marriage with her first cousin Anarawd. Concubinage was universal; [7] Cadwgan ap Bleddyn had children by at least six women, his brother Maredudd, by at least four, and not only Gruffudd ap Cynan and Owain Gwynedd, but most of the Welsh chiefs of the twelfth Century had a numerous illegitimate offspring.

1. The Brut. ad 1149=50. Curiously the B. MS. of ab Ithel (from the Hengwrt library) says:—Y carcharwyt Ywein vrenhin Gwyned a Chynan y vab.
2. Brut. ad 1151=2.
3. Owain Gwynedd was son of Angharad, daughter of Owain ab Edwin.
4. Gir. Camb. vi., 213. This author says that cohabitation was usual before marriage.
5. Brut. ad 1173. 6. Brut. ad 1142=3.
7. Brut. ad 1113=6, pp. 138—41 in Rolls Edn. The sixth was Owain's mother, who is called Iwerydd daughter of Edwin.

CHAPTER VI.

LITERARY HISTORY AND STATE OF PEOPLE.—1135 TO 1170.

Effect of Stephen's reign on Welsh history—The building of castles by the Welsh—Revival in National Life—The bards—Addresses to the native rulers—Lost works—Gwalchmai—Social standing of the bards—Howel ab Owain Gwynedd and Owain Cyfeiliog—Cynddelw and Seisyll Bryffwrch—Minor poets—Preservation of genealogies—Dramatic compositions—Prose works—The Mabinogion—Geoffrey of Monmouth—Walter of Oxford—Caradog of Llancarfan—The Book of Llandaff—The Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan—Music—Copying of Manuscripts—The Laws—Religious Life—The Crusades—The Cistercian movement—The Abbeys—Grants of land by the Welsh—Burial of the chiefs—The Welsh Characteristics and Customs—Growth of National feeling.

[1]STEPHEN died at last on the 25th of October, 1154. His son Eustace, his gallant wife Matilda had gone before, and the poor king, bereft of all that which might have consoled, passed away a broken hearted man. His reign, which in England was but one long record of misery and lawlessness, afforded to Wales the opportunity she required to thrust off the Norman rule, and add a century and a half of independent life to her long history. [2]The Welsh learnt how to build a castle to hold a neighbourhood in subjection, and when a new king attempted to recover the authority of his forebears in the land, he found it protected now not alone by the wild valour of the inhabitants,

1. Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Robert de Monte ad 1153=4; William of Newburgh, Lib. i. Chap. xxxii., Gerv. Cant. i., 159; Brut. ad 1153=4; Ann. Camb. (c.) ad 1155=4, &c.

2. In the first fury of the war of independence, the invariable rule with the Welsh was the destruction of the Norman castles that fell into their hands. The first castle, the building of which is distinctly attributed to a Welsh prince, is that of Cynfael which stood near the modern Ffestiniog in North Merioneth. Cadwaladr built it some time before 1147, [Brut. ad 1146–7]. Henceforward the erection of castles by the Welsh was common, as was also the garrisoning with Welsh troops of strongholds originally Norman. If the Upham of Ord. Vit. [d. v., 110 is as I think, Usk, it is clear that a Welsh prince garrisoned that castle as early as 1158.

and the difficulties which nature seemed to have taken pleasure in strewing in the path of a would-be-conqueror, but by every defence wherewith art had taught those masters in building, the Normans, to supplement the defects of nature and courage. The effort which was necessary to attain to freedom of political life drew upon the living sources of the strength of the people. The fiery energy called forth showed itself in many a siege and battle; but to it must also be assigned the extraordinary revival in literature, art, religion and law which characterized the epoch.

The political literature of Wales is traditionally connected with the Bards. [1] They were a powerful and numerous body, possessing a definite organisation. Each prince had his pencerdd, and [2] we hear of a contest between Cynddelw and Seisyll Bryffwrch for the office at the court of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys. The position did not entail any subserviency; all the Bards of the twelfth century addressed their verses indifferently to the princes of the various divisions of Wales. Thus Seisyll Bryffwrch was victorious at the above contest and became pencerdd of Powys, yet of the three poems of his composition that have come down to us, one is addressed to Rhys ap Gruffudd, the other two are elegies on Owain Gwynedd and his son Iorwerth Drwyndwn. [3] The only reason of preference would be the

1. For the organisation of the bardic body see Aneurin Owain's Edn. of Welsh Laws, vol. i., pp. 12—5 32—5, 258—9, 660—3, &c. For the the number of the bards see Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 187.

2. Amryson Cyndelw a Seisyll Bryfwrch . am Benceirdiaeth Fadawg Mab Maredudd . a Chyndelw a dechreuwys—in Myv. Arch. p. 154.

3. We have in the Myvyrian Archæology poems in honour of the following princes of this period :— (*a*) Gruffudd ap Cynan. Owain Gwynedd and his sons Howel, Iorwerth, Dafydd, and Rhodri. Gwalchmai also refers to Cadwallon and Cadwaladr, sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, as patrons of the bards. (*b*) In Powys, Madog ap Maredudd and his sons Llywelyn and Owain, and his daughter Efa; Iorwerth Goch; Owain Cyfeiliog. (*c*) Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth; Rhirid Flaidd of Penllyn; Einion, son of Madog ab Iddon of Gwent; Howe. ab Ieuaf of Arwystli; Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd.

amount of protection and encouragement which an individual prince might give to literature, and Owain Gwynedd and Madog ap Maredudd are singled out by the Bards for especial praise.

[1] Though Gwrgant ap Rhys is spoken of by the Brut. as the best poet of his day, we have not a single one of his compositions, and there are many others whose names are forgotten and whose works are unknown. Of the twelfth century bards, not more than twelve have had a few of their pieces preserved. [2] Gwalchmai, first of our period in order of time, is first in merit. He was son of Meilir and from him inherited poetical genius. He lived in Gwynedd and most of his poems are addressed to members of its royal house. A warrior, like most Welshmen of his time he delighted in the conflict, but with remarkable versatility turned from scenes of warfare to communion with nature. His poems, when they are not mere eulogies of princes, blend his joy in the din of battle with love for the songs of the birds, for the murmur of the streams in the deep woods and lofty hills for which his country was renowned.

The social standing of the bards was never afterwards so high as in the twelfth century. [3] The bard of the prince took his place among the officers of the household, and his

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1. Brut. ad 1157=8 :—Y llas Morgan ab Owein drwy dwyll y gan wyr Ivor uab Meuruc a chyt ac ef y llas y prydyd goreu, a hwnnw aelwit Gwrgan uab Rys. The last part of the quotation is not found in the D. & E. MSS. of ab Ithel. The account in the Gwentian Chronicle is different, and the writer seems to suggest that Gwrgant was a son of Rhys ab Iestin of Solfen :—Y llas Gwrgan ab Rhys ab Iestin gwr dysgedicaf o Brydydd a gaid yn ei amser y gan Ifor ab Meuryg o Sainghenydd, a Morgan ab Owain ab Caradawc a fynnai ddial hynny, a myned am benn Ifor ai ladd o dwyn ei diroedd.

2. What we know of the bards is almost entirely gathered from the internal evidence of their own works. It is difficult to fix the date of Gwalchmai's death. He flourished from 1140 to 1170, and wrote elegies on Madog ap Maredudd (d. 1160) and Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170). His last poems are the Awdl i Dafyd mab Owain and the Canu a gant Gwalchmai i Rodri fab Owain. Gwalchmai's 12 poems are found on pp. 142—9 in the Myv. Arch., ed. 1861.

3. For the privileges, &c. of the "pencerdd" see Aneurin Owen's edition of the Welsh Laws, vol. pp. 388—9.

rights and privileges were minutely described by law. No taeog's son could become a scholar or poet, and the liberal professions became a close privilege of the freeborn Cymry. As in the days of Llywarch Hen, princes spurned not to take the pen, and [1] Howel, son of Owain Gwynedd, and [2] Owain Cyfeiliog have left us poems, that testify to their ability. Here again we wonder, knowing the turbulent life of the two princes, at the vigour which could manifest itself in so many phases. For they were no ordinary bards and their works no panegyrics and elegies so common with others. They bear a stamp of originality denied their meaner brethren; the short love odes of Howel are instinct with grace, and Cyfeiliog's Hirlas abounds in passages of fiery energy.

Cynddelw and Seisyll Bryffwrch were both men of conspicuous ability. Curiously, though we have still forty-six poems of the former, only three of the latter have been handed down. Thus we have not the same amount of material to help us to a judgment on their relative merit. [3] Still, what we have of Seisyll does not justify the summary treatment of Stephens, who, deceived perhaps by the position of his poems in the Myvyrian Archæology, has re-

1. Howel's poems, eight in number, are in the Myv. Arch. pp. 197—9. Three poems, all contemporary, which add to our knowledge of the prince's life, have the following subscriptions in the Myv. Arch.:—(*a*) Canu a gant Kyndelw y Hywel M. Ewein, pp. 186—9. (*b*) Awdyl . Nis Gwyddis pwy ai cant., p. 281, but very probably a work of Peryf ab Cedifor, according to the suggestion of Thos. Price in Hanes Cymru, pp. 584—7, adopted by Thos. Stephens in the Literature of the Kymry, pp. 39—41. (*c*) Peryf fab Cadifor ai cant i Hywel ap Ywain p. 346.

2. Owain Cyfeiliog is applauded by Giraldus for the administration of his country. He seems to have had a good conversation and ready wit. [Gir. Camb. vi., 144—5]. We have two poems of his in the Myv. Arch., pp. 197—2:—The Hirlas Euein, and Englynion a gant teulu Ywein Kyueilyawc i Gylchyau Kymry. Of Cynddelw we have:—(*a*) Canu y Ywein Kyueilyawc, pp. 161—3. (*b*) Englynyon y Ewein Kyueilyawc, pp. 170—1. He must have passed into Norman story, for he is referred to in the Legend of Fulk Fitz Warin, published in the Rolls series in the same volume as R. de Coggeshall, p. 318:—Atant vint Yweyn Keveylloke, un chevaler hardy e fer, e de une launce de freyne fery Fouke parmy la voyde du cors This is equivalent in modern French to:—Alors vint Yweyn Keveylloke, un chevalier hardi et fier, et d'une lance de frêne frappa Foulques à travers le corps.

3. Seisyll's poems are in the Myv. Arch. pp. 235—7, immediately preceding those of Llygad Gwr. The editors assign to him the period 1160—1210; but he must have flourished before the death of Madog ap Maredudd, and his latest work is the elegy on Iorwerth Drwyndwn, who died before 1194. In the absence of further evidence, his floreat must be given as 1150 1190.

legated him to the early thirteenth century. [1] His panegyric on the campaign of 1159 is a valuable contribution to history. It is devoid of much poetic merit, being in a rapid and difficult metre, but it is full of the double spirit of piety and warfare which is so characteristic of the epoch. Like most of the work of the bards it was destined for public recitation, and before launching forth on a glowing eulogy of Rhys, and a vivid description of his triumph, he asks God to inspire his rhyme, and bestow the gift of eloquence upon him. Seisyll is one of the least obscure of these bards, and his elegy in memory of Iorwerth ab Owain is one of the most clear and moving we have.

Seisyll's rival, Cynddelw, is often referred to as y Prydydd Mawr. [2] He must have been a well known poet before 1160 when Madog ap Maredudd died, and no doubt, as some of his pieces are in honour of Llywelyn of Gwynedd, he saw the last years of the century. [3] Probably more than half of his known work belongs to our period, which was that of his vigour. Many of them, like his address to Howel ab Owain, throw a valuable side light on history; nearly all of them add to our knowledge of the life and customs of the times; the wild career of the Welsh chieftains whose revenue was derived partly from taxes on their sub-

1. Can i'r Arglwydd Rys. Seisyll Bryffwrch ai cant. It is a poem of 88 lines in Myr. Arch. pp. 236—7.

2. Cynddelw, we gather from his works, lived to a great age and flourished from 1150 to 1210. The fact of his contending for the "pencerddiaeth" at the court of Madog ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn, shows he must have composed poems and gained some fame, as early as 1150. We have from him elegies on Madog (d. 1160); Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170); Cadwallon of Maelienydd (d. 1179); and Owain Fychan (d. 1186). His latest piece is the Cylch Llywelyn in Myv. Arch. pp. 175—6, it was written after 1207 as verses 14, 19, etc., refer to the campaign against Gwenwynwyn and the destruction of Ystrad Meurug, perhaps after 1215 when Llywelyn raised Caerfyrddin to the ground. [See v. 20, and Brut. ad 1207=1215].

3. The Cannau Cynddelw Brydyd Mawr in the Myv. Arch. pp. 149—190 are 49 in number. These include the Amrvson Cyndelw a Seisyll Bryfwrch am Benceirdiaeth, p. 154; one englyn, p. 124 considered doubtful by the editors; the Marwnad Uletynt Vart, p. 184, which can hardly be his unless we admit the existence of another Bleddyn Fardd than the one who flourished at the close of the XIIIth. Century, and whose poems are found in the Myv. Arch. pp. 251—5. Cynddelw's genuine poems are reduced to 46.

jects, but chiefly from their predatory excursions on the richer land of the Saxons; their prowess in hunting; the hospitality, always a mark of the Celtic race, which led the princes to keep open board; [1] the rivalry of the bards and monks; the keen delight in oratory and wit, in the public recitation of the prose tales and the poems of the bards, in music, in the amenities of social intercourse. [2] One side of bardic thought is seen in the poem addressed by Cynddelw to God, and it makes clear that the theological conceptions of his class were of a high order, and at the same time points to one of the factors in the hostility of the monks to himself and his brethren.

[3] The other bards of the period of whom we know anything were Daniel ap Llosgwrn Mew whose elegy on Owain Gwynedd makes us wish we had more of him. [4] Llywarch Llew Cad; [5] Peryf ap Cedifor, who was a partisan of Howel ab Owain; and [6] Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, a South Welshman probably, as of his remaining works, one is addressed to Rhys ap Gruffudd, the other to St. Dewi.

The bards had other duties than those of writing panegyrics and elegies on the princes of the time. To them

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1. Llyma Englyn a gant Cynddelw gwedi anfon Mynach o Fyneich Yschad Marchell iw wrthod ac ddywedyd nas cleddynt yn eu Monachlog. Myv. Arch p. 190.—Ystrad Marchell was founded in 1170 according to Dugdale, Mon. v., 636.

2. Myv. Arch. pp. 179—183. The poems of all the bards show some of this religious feeling. Nearly all the poems of Einion and Meilir, sons of Gwalchmai, are addressed to God. Myv. Arch. pp. 226—232. They fl. 1170—1210.

3. Marwnad Ywein Gwynet . Danyel ab Llosgwrn Mew ae K. Myv. A. p. 193.

4. The name is taken from his own poem, pp. 280—1 of Myv. Archaeology.

5. He probably wrote two poems addressed to Howel ab Owain Gwynedd, in the Myv. Arch. pp. 281, 346. We learn from them that he and his six brothers fought for Howel, who was their foster brother, and that several were killed in his cause. Two were buried with him in Bangor. Rev. Thos. Price, Hanes Cymru, p. 584. desires to identify their father with Cedifor Wyddel. See in Myv. Arch. p. 174:—Marwnad Ithel ap Cadifor Wyddel . Cynddelw ai Cant.

6. His poems in the Myvyrian Arch. :—(*a*) Gwynnuart Brycheinyawc a Gant yr awdyl honn yr Arglwyt Rys, p. 199. (*b*) Canu y Dewi. Gwynnuart Brycheinyawc ae Cant. pp. 194—6.

was entrusted the [1]preservation of the genealogies and historical documents of the chief families of the land; theirs it was to bear messages from one lord to another; theirs to incite the chiefs to warlike courage; and the law required that before the battle, [2]they should address them on the Monarchy of Britain, no doubt to remind them of the loss of the Celtic supremacy of the island, and of the deeds of valour of their forefathers against their Saxon rivals. [3]Again and again in the poems we find their fierce hatred of the English, and to it in part we must attribute their attacks upon the monks of the Latin church who were looked upon as aliens encroaching upon Welsh land. It is difficult to underestimate their importance as leaders of opinion, in keeping up the fever of war and the hatred of race; but the English kings understood it as well as the early Ethelfrith, and by severe laws attempted their annihilation.

There was at this time a tendency towards the production of a drama. We know from the Four Branches of the Mabinogi that conversation was an art prized at an early period by the Cymry; and the repetition of such phrases

1. See the valuable passage in Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 167 8, where he clearly states that the bards kept ancient and authentic genealogies of their princes in the Welsh tongue. The genealogies of Owain ap Howel Dda and his mother Elen in Harleian MS. 3859 most probably date back to the Xth Century, and are evidently from a Welsh original. It has been the fashion to deride Welsh genealogies, but they are no less worthy of trust than those of other nations. Giraldus speaks of the regard of Welsh for high birth, and their great care of their pedigrees (Op. vi. 200.) In Descriptio Cambriae (Op. vi. 167) he gives us the correct descent of Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr ap Cadell ab Einion ab Owain ap Howel Dda. By leaving out the Cadell, great confusion has been caused by certain writers. Tewdwr ab Einion died according to the Brut. in 993=995, probably. So Rhys ap Tewdwr was made, even if a posthumous child, to be between ninety and a hundred when he ruled South Wales. As a matter of fact, Rhys ap Tewdwr ap Cadell ab Einion must have been quite a young man when he is supposed to have begun his reign, perhaps in the Autumn of 1078, and cannot have been much more than forty at his death, during Easter week of 1093. His son Gruffudd was a child, and fled to Ireland, where he remained until he reached manhood. From the account of the Brut. ad 1112=5, he must have come back to South Wales in 1113, a clear proof of his extreme youth at his father's death.

2. Unbeinyaeth Prydein. W. Laws, ed. Aneurin Owen, i., 34—5, 660—1.

3. Curiously it is not y Ffreinc, y Normanyeit of the Brut., but y Saeson, yr Eingl, y Lloegrwys, against whom the hatred of the bards is directed. Gwalchmai:—Gwalchmai ym gelwir gelyn y Saeson; Myv. Arch. p. 143.—Danyel ap Llosgwrn M.: Gwr a wnaei ar lloegyr llwyr anreith. A dwyn y dynyon yn geith; Myv. Arch. p. 193.—Seisyll Bryffwrch:—Ac eingl ar darf godurf giliaw; Myv. Arch. p. 237.

as "ymdidan a wnaethant," and the frequency of short dialogues interspersed in the narrative, shows an inclination to dramatic effect. The dialogue in prose easily passed into the dialogue in verse. The rhymed conversation called Kyvoesi Myrdin a Gwendyd y Chuaer consists of one hundred and forty-one verses. Myrddin, in answer to Gwenddydd, predicts the succession of Welsh sovereigns from the time of Rhydderch Hael. The list given is correct, and the names are exact, till the reign of Howel Dda. Thenceforward all is obscure; Howel's successors are called Bargodyein or Border-men, Brehyryeit or Barons, and so forth. [1] From this circumstance Llwyd assigned the poem to the middle of the tenth century. If verses 71 to 84 which refer to Henry II. and his successors and to Owain Gwynedd be recognized as interpolations, there can be no doubt that the internal evidence of the rest of the poem is in favour of his view.

Whatever be the opinion adopted on this, there can be no doubt as to the antiquity of the dialogue between Taliesin and Myrddin, which is found on the first three leaves of the Black Book of Caerfyrddin, written [2] in the large hand attributed to a scribe of the reign of Stephen.

1. Thos. Stephens, Lit. of the Kymry. pp. 202–7. He refers it to about 1080 and thinks it was written to promote the interests of Rhys ap Tewdwr. He identifies the confused personages mentioned in the poem with princes of the Xth and XIth Centuries. Thus in the order of the poem :—

The Bargodyein	are	Ieuaf and Iago, sons of Idwal Foel.
The Brehyryeit	are	Howel and Cadwallon, sons of Ieuaf.
Kynan y Cwn	is	Cynan ap Iago.
Serven Wynn	is	Sifnerth of Dyfed.
Gruffud	is	Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.
Cuyn Guarther	is	Bleddyn ap Cynfyn Gwyn.
Gylvin	is	Glwncayn, son of Abloyc of the Brut.
Machy dau hanner	is	Macht ab Haralit of the Brut.
Beli Hir	is	Trahaiarn ap Caradog.

These identifications are ingenious, but more than conjectural. Recognized Sovereigns of Wales are not mentioned, and some are given as such who had not the remotest connection with the government of the country. Thus Glwmayn is none other than Gluniarainn mac Amhlaibh of the Chron. Scotorum ad 987=9, and yet this Irish prince is made to follow Bledhyn ap Cynfyn who was killed in 1075 (*Brut.* ad 1073), in the government or pennaeth of Wales.

2. See the Palæographical note of J. Gwenogfryn Evans, prefaced to the Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen, Oxford, 1888.

It suggests to us that rhymed dialogues were, by the middle of the twelfth century, much in vogue, [1] and we have several which certainly go back to this period and confirm the suggestion. [2] One writer has been of opinion that miracle plays were already acted in the Welsh language, but unfortunately he relies far too much on the Gwentian Chronicle and his theory consequently requires revision.

The literature of the time was not confined to poetry. [3] What are known as the Pedeir Kainc y Mabinogi are a series of prose tales contained in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but which show indications of being copies from originals of the twelfth. Even if in their present state they go back no further, the materials which have gone to form them were of high antiquity. The titles of the tales are Pwyll Prince of Dyfed; Branwen, daughter of Llyr; Manawyddan, son of

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1. We have the following dialogues :—

   (*a*) Kyvoesi Myrdin a Gwendyd y Chuaer, printed in the Myv. Arch. pp. 108—115.

   (*b*) Ymdidan rhwng Myrdin Wyllt a Thaliessin, on the first three leaves of the Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, printed in Myv. Arch. p. 45. Transcribed about 1150.

   (*c*) Dialogue between Myrddin and Ysgolan on f. 41 of the Llyfr Du. Printed on p 104 of the Myv. Arch. with the following superscription :—I Yscolan. Myrddin Wyllt ai Cant.

   (*d*) Ymddyddan Arthur a Chai a Glewlwyd on p. 127 of Myv. Arch. on f. 476 of Llyfr Du.

   (*e*) Ymryson Gwyddneu a Gwyn ab Nudd, Myv. Arch. pp. 126—7, Llyfr Du. f. 49.

   (*f*) Ymdiddan rhwng Ugnach ab Mydno, o Gaer Seon, a Thaliesin o Gaer Deganwy.—Myv. Arch., p. 44, Llyfr Du, f. 51.

   The fact that with the exception of two elegies on Madog ap Maredudd by Cynddelw, there is not in the Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin any poem of the known bards of the XIIth Century, does certainly suggest that the scribe preferred to copy older work. Without building too much on a slight foundation, I am inclined to believe that most of the poems in the Llyfr Du are older than the middle of the XIIth Century.

   There are other dialogues in the Myv. Arch., the date of which it is difficult to fix. [M. A. pp. 123—4, 130—3].—Cf. also the Amryson Cyndelw a Seisyll Bryfwrch.

2. He bases his arguments on :—

   (*a*) The words :—A chynnal pob chwareuon hud a lledrith, a phob arddangos—in the Gwentian Chron. ad 1135.

   (*b*) The rhymed dialogues.

   (*c*) The frequent use of of the word miragl in the poems of the bards in connections which forbid our supposing they refer to the Miracles of Scripture. For this see Lit. of the Kymry, pp. 69—83.

3. See Rhys; Arthurian Legend, pp. 1—6, 282, 377, 387—8, &c.

Llyr; and Math, son of Mathonwy. They are completely free from the knight-errantry which enters so much into the later Welsh stories which have been influenced by Norman ideas. Arthur is not once mentioned, and the heroes of the play are taken from Goidelic parts of Wales, and chiefly from Dyfed, the home of Pwyll and Pryderi. Prominence is given to magic and the supernatural, to Dyfed, the land of enchantment. The Mabinogi formed the repertoire of the young apprentice bard, and he recited them no doubt at prices fixed by the law of custom. As we have them now they are delightful in their simplicity, their short flowing sentences, their appeals to magical effect, the clearness with which they reflect the ideas of a bygone age, the love of social entertainment and conversation. To the student they are invaluable for folklore, prehistoric archæology and ethnology; and they add to our knowledge of social and political life under the tribal system.

Other tales, too, which were gathered together with the preceding, and entitled Mabinogion, but had no claim to the name, go back to this period, although as they now stand, they bear the impress of later days. Thus the story of the Dream of Rhonabwy is evidently later than the time of Madog ap Maredudd, as both he and his brother Iorwerth are therein mentioned; but the reference is a superposition on older matter, and the fact that Norman ideas of chivalry do not find their way either into this story or into that of Kilhwch and Olwen, is in favour of the antiquity of both. Even those tales which undoubtedly show traces of Norman manipulation, were drawn often from earlier Welsh originals, the materials for which go

back to a remote period. [1] The ystoriawyr or story tellers gained fame from where they displayed conspicuous ability; and Bledri is mentioned by Giraldus as one of the most renowned of the age.

Curiously, of the Welsh literature of this century, the poetry extant is chiefly from the pen of North Welsh bards, but for the prose we are indebted to South Wales. Not only the lighter tales, but most of the historical work of the time show a Southern origin. [2] The greatest literary name of the time is that of Gruffudd ab Arthur, commonly known as Geoffrey of Monmouth. To few men has it been given to influence so widely the literature of the world. [3] The Gwentian Chronicle says he was connected by blood with Bishop Uchtryd of Llandaff. He entered the Church, and obtained rapid promotion by family influence and his connection with the house of Gloucester. His learning gained him renown; he studied Celtic literature, was on intimate terms with Welsh men of letters, and at the request of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, published a Latin translation of prophecies of the famous Merlin. Meanwhile he was actively engaged in writing the Historia Britonum, which was dedicated to Robert of Gloucester. This work sealed his reputation, and he was chosen a few years after as the successor of Gilbert in the see of St. Asaph. [4] On the 16th of February, 1152, he was ordained priest, and on the 24th

1. "Famosus ille fabulator Bledhericus, qui tempora nostra paulo praevenit," says Giraldus [Ap. vi. 202].

2. Gruffudd is the name of the son of Seisyll ab Dyfnwal in the Brut. MSS. A. B. C. ad 1175; but the MSS. D. E. of the Brut. and B. C. of the Ann. Camb. give Geffrei, Gefrei or Geffre. Cf. the curious variations in the name of Bernard's predecessor to the see of St. David's. Ad 1083=5 in the Brut. he is called Wilffre, Giraldus calls him Wilfredus (Op. vi. 90) and Wilfre (vi. 104). Ann. Camb. ad 1115, Wilfre and Wilfridus. Brut. ad 1112=5 calls him Ieffrei; one MS. D.) Geffrei. The Gwentian Chron. ad 1112—Griffri.

3. Gwent. Chron. ad 1152.

4. Gerv. Cant. i., 142; ii., 325.

of the month consecrated bishop by Theobald at Canterbury. He does not seem to have visited his diocese; We find him on the 16th of November, 1153, witnessing the Charter of Agreement between Henry and Stephen; [1] and in 1155 he died suddenly at the celebration of mass in Llandaff Cathedral.

The question of the materials employed by Geoffrey for his work, has been and is still involved in much obscurity; but there is no sufficient reason for doubting his own version. He probably translated a Breton original, and used the Latin Nennius and possibly some Cymric manuscript embodying the national legends; and in welding them into a harmonious whole, he has displayed evident literary skill. The Historia Britonum is an epic in prose, telling the story of the ancient British race from the days of Brutus to the death of Cadwaladr Fendigaid; and Arthur is its real hero, and no inconsiderable part is given to a description of his deeds. The deliberate blending of truth and lie in history has been laid to Geoffrey's charge, and yet he did not claim to be so much a historian as a translator; and a man of his learning would have found no difficulty in adding to their appearance of truth, had he merely wished to concoct fables of his own. We must all consider the mark of a man on his age, on posterity. It is when judged by such a standard that Geoffrey will assume gigantic proportions. [2] His influence was immediate and permanent, and some of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of European literature owe to him much of their inspiration.

Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, here deserves mention

1. Brut. ad 1154=5. He is wrongfully called Bishop of Llandaff. Cf. Gwentian Chronicle ad 1152.
2. T. Gilbray has left an excellent sketch of Geoffrey's literary influence.

on account of his [1] connection with Geoffrey of Monmouth. He was much interested in British antiquities, and visited Brittany whence he brought the famous manuscript used by Geoffrey. [2] It has been maintained that he was a Welshman, but no sufficient proof is forthcoming, and the statement may be due to a confusion with his namesake of the close of the century.

Another historian of this time was Caradog of Llancarfan. He wrote, in Welsh, a Chronicle from the death of Cadwaladr Fendigaid to the twelfth century. He was a man competent to do his work, and his Chronicle no doubt formed the basis of the annals preserved at the Welsh monasteries of Ystrad Fflur and Aberconwy. [3] These were afterwards multiplied by the bards, very many of whom made transcriptions for their own use, adding rarely a scrap of information derived from tradition or some other Chronicle in their possession. The divergence in the fullness of the historical account of the Brut y Tywysogion of the Rolls Series, the original manuscript of which must have been the Annals of Ystrad Fflur, is very marked about the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, and the political sympathies of the writer change ;

1. Geoffrey visited Oxford in 1129 when with Archdeacon Walter he was a witness of the Osney Charter. [Sir F. Madden on the Berne MS. in Journal of Arch. Institute, 1858, p. 305.

2. There were three Archdeacons of Oxford in the XIIth century called Walter :—(*a*) Walter sometimes called Calenius, who was still living in 1151 and was Geoffrey's friend. (*b*) Walter de Coutances, archdeacon in 1183. (*c*) Walter Map or Mapes, archdeacon in 1197, still living in 1208. The first and third have been often confounded.—Thos. Stephens, among many others has been led astray.—Walter Map was undoubtedly of Welsh stock, [see his De Nugis, ii, 20,] and calls himself a marcher of Wales [ib. ii, 23].—He has been claimed as a native of Pembrokeshire [Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, XI., 386 ; and Hardy's Cat. Brit. Hist., ii, 487] ; and of Herefordshire [Ward's Cat. of Romances in the Mus. Brit., i, 736—8] ; while others say he was a son of Blondel de Mapes by Fflur, daughter of Gweirydd ap Seisyllt of Llancarfan in Glamorgan, and attribute the foundation of Trewalter to him. [Stephen's, Lit. of the K. pp. 310—1, &c.]

3. The list given by the poet and grammarian John Rhydderch of persons who wrote Histories of Wales or Britain, refers probably to bardic transcriptions or abbreviations of known Chronicles, and especially the Brut y Tywysogion.—The Llyfr Ieuan Brechfa, and if it be the transcription of Guttyn Owain, the Llyfr Du Basing, would be indications of this.

[1] and I am inclined to attribute this to the use of Caradog's Chronicle for the first part of the work, which was afterwards supplemented by regular additions at stated periods. [2] Little is known of Caradog, but he was on terms of friendship with Geoffrey, who, according to one authority, supplied him with materials for his work.

The same time which saw the publication of the histories of Caradog of Llancarfan and Geoffrey of Monmouth, was distiguished by the completion of the valuable compilation known as the Book of Llandaff. The records of grants of land are generally the earliest elements in the history of a diocese, and it is probable that by the tenth century some effort was made to obtain a clear recognition by written charters of the possessions of the see; and a great impetus to this movement was no doubt given by Urban, who was continually disputing with his neighbour bishops about the frontiers of his ecclesiastical domain. [3] The Book of Llandaff received its definite form certainly after the death of Urban, and probably before that of Stephen. [4] It must be considered as a plea for the Church of Glamorgan, and it has certainly been put together with

1. This would agree very well with the date, 1124, assigned for Caradog's death by the editors of the History and Antiquities of St. David's, referring to Nova Legenda Angliae, fol. iv; but it probably refers, unfortunately, to Caradog, the Hermit.—The bard and herald Gutyn Owain (fl. 1451—1495,) gives 1156 as the date, and it has been generally accepted. But it seems certain that Caradog died before the publication of the Historia Britonum, the latest date for which is 1147.

2. He was a monk of Llancarfan in Glamorgan, and perhaps one of the band of literary men who gathered round Robert of Gloucester.—He is said to have written:—Commentarii in Merlinum—De Situ Orbis—and Vita Gildae. [Bale, Script. Brit. Cat., p. 196]—of the first two nothing is known; the Vita Gildae, published by Stevenson for the Eng. Hist. Soc., is possibly his.—He has been confounded by Ab Ithel, and others with Caradog the Hermit, of whom we hear much from Giraldus, who was himself the author of a Vita S. Karadoci; but there is no evidence to prove that they were one and the same person.—Ab Ithel in his preface to the Brut. p. xxiii., says he was a son of Llefoed Wynebglawr or Flat Face, whose poem entitled—Gorymdeith Llevoet Wyneb Glawr—is found in Myv. Arch. pp. 118—9.—Several poems have been attributed to Caradog himself, such as one addressed to Gwgan the Bearded in the Myv. Arch., and two in the Iolo MSS. entitled, Englynion yr Asswynau and Englynion y Gorugan, which have also been attributed to Llefoed and Geraint y Bardd Glas.

3. On p. 85 of the Oxford edition of Rhys and Evans we hear of Urban as praedictus episcopus vir bonae memoriae.

4. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, in preface to Book of Llandaff, gives reasons for supposing Geoffrey of Monmouth to have been the author.

no mean ability. The lives of the first bishops of that Church are no doubt largely overgrown, like most lives of saints, with legends; but even they, perhaps, contain germs of truth. From the Book of Llandaff we derive most of our knowledge of the early history of Morganwg, and [1] the most competent authorities are in favour of the authenticity of its records.

Another work which may be considered to date back in its original form to the twelfth century is [2] the Hanes Neu Buchedd Gruffudd ap Cynan, printed in the Myvyrian Archæology. Unlike the histories of Caradog and Geoffrey which lay claim to equal antiquity, it has received but scant attention. Evidently a native of Gwynedd, and an enthusiastic supporter of its royal house, the author, [3] Sir John Wynne tells us, was an old Welsh monk; and his book was in the sixteenth century translated into Latin by [4] Nicolas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor. [5] The original seems to have been undoubtedly Welsh, and the Latin headings and references to Simeon of Durham and Ordericus Vitalis are perhaps to be attributed to the Bishop, and were not found in one of the manuscripts used by the editors of the Myvyrian Archæology. The fullness of the narrative suggests that it was written but shortly after Gruffudd's death, by one who used an historical work on the eleventh century now lost. For it is evident by the most cursory glance at this biography, that quite a disproportionate part

1. Seebohm, Tribal System in Wales. 2. Myv. Arch. pp. 721—734.
3. Sir John died 1st March, 1626=7.—History of the Gwydyr Family.
4. Bishop in 1566, died 3rd February, 1584=5; Le Neve, Fast. Eccl. Angl.
5. Thos. Price (Hanes Cymru, p. 528 note), based his opinion that the work was originally written in Latin on :—
   (*a*) The division of the work by Latin headings.
   (*b*) The Commentary on the Prophecy of Merlin.
   (*c*) Certain turns of phrase which suggest translation from Mediaeval Latin.

treats of Gruffudd's early career, and that scarce one-seventh of it refers to the last thirty-seven years of his life. The genealogy of Gruffudd forms a preface to the work. Its length and complexity fully bear out Giraldus' statement about the care of the Welsh for their pedigrees and their pride of race. The writer casually refers to the descent from Rollo of William the Conqueror and his two sons, and Stephen his nephew, but he mentions no later English monarch. [1] We are led, till further evidence from manuscripts and a good edition of the work permit a revision of the opinion, to believe that the Hanes Gruffudd was written in the middle of the twelfth century.

[2] The Welsh were even then a remarkably musical people. They played the harp, the violin and the pipe; and prominence was given to these instruments in the great feasts which from time to time were held by the principal chieftains. [3] Giraldus describes their singing in parts as distinguished from singing in unison; and of their singing in general speaks in terms of high praise.

[4] There was also at this time a movement in the direction of multiplying the manuscripts of the country. The Kymric school of writing, especially in Deheubarth, was under the influence of French models; but very little work of the time has been preserved. The oldest manuscript known is the famous Black Book of Caerfyrddin which contains forty-three pieces, chiefly in verse, of the twelfth and preceeding centuries. The first transcripts are in a

1. The publication of a critical edition of this work, after collation of existing MSS. would be a service to Welsh history.

2. Thos. Stephens, Lit. of the Kymry, pp. 55—69.—Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 186—7.

3. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 189.

4. See Gwenogfryn Evans' introduction to the Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin

large bold hand, whereas the latter are in small writing; but the whole of it is quite legible.

Little doubt can exist that a period distinguished by fertility in other branches of human activity, was marked by attention to the institutions of the land; though the number of authoritative references to definite legal changes is small. The Laws of Howel Dda were themselves but an adaptation of former observances to the phase of tribal life found in the tenth century; and in the twelfth they received considerable modification, thought necessary owing to the new conditions which the struggle with the Normans brought about. It is probable the Welsh Code as we have it now, takes us back to this period, and one [1] manuscript at least appears to be of the close of the century. The majority of those extant are much later, but they are bardic transcripts of the earlier, just as the numerous copies of the Brut. derive from an original of about 1290. The political and social wisdom everywhere manifest in the laws points to a long experience of the tribal system; and gives them much value in the comparative study of human institutions.

For Wales as it was for Europe, the twelfth century was an era of change in religious life. The violence of the Norman usurpation had brought her, face to face with Latin Christianity, fashioned anew by the genius of Hildebrand; and when her own church succumbed, she adopted perforce, though gradually, the celibacy of the priesthood, the Roman discipline and ritual. This brought her into closer contact than she had been with the rest of the western world, and the same high motives and aspirations, which influenced the rest of christendom, had their effect upon her people.

1. See Aneurin Owen's Preface to his edition of the Welsh Laws, pp. xxv., xxvi., xxvii.

We have evidence that the first two crusades did not leave her indifferent; and pilgrimages to Rome and the places revered of christians in the distant East were not uncommon. Another great factor in the communication of Wales with other parts of Europe, was the influence of the religious orders. The Cistercian movement which received immense impetus from the Normans, was finally supported by the Welsh themselves, so that the three abbeys of Tal y Llychau, Cwmhir and Ystrad Fflur in the south, most probably owed their origin, and at any rate, eventually, a large part of their endowment, to their own princes. [1]Further, in Glamorgan, to such abbeys as Neath and Margam, which were founded by Normans, the Welsh princes and people became great benefactors almost from the first; and there is no interruption during the twelfth century in their grants of land.

But in addition to this excitation of religious feeling from without, there was great fermentation and fervour within. The Celtic church did not disappear before its rival, as some would fain believe, like a shadow; and the age is full of instances of the violence and bitterness of the conflict. At every vacancy of a bishopric the old Welsh party attempted the installation of a nominee bound to its views; but the Norman monarchs and archbishops would never permit the government of a Welsh see by a Welshman. Every motive was adduced against such a course; but the real one was its alleged impolicy. The Welsh native clergy was accused of ignorance and superstition; but unless we are to suppose that the priests were inferior in intellectual level to their contemporaries, the chieftains

1 For Neath and Margam Charters see G. T. Clark's Cartae et Munimenta de Glamorgan.

and bards, the plea that they were ignorant must be rejected. Certainly superstition was rife, but not a country in Christian Europe was then free from the stain. As a matter of fact, the ecclesiastical policy of the English kings in Wales was due to a belief that Norman bishops would form valuable allies in the subjugation of the country.

The Welsh princes, too, whose wild life of war would seem to have debarred them from more peaceful pursuits, were men influenced by religious motives, as much as by literary effusion and oratory. Many of them built monasteries, like their Norman neighbours, for the salvation of their souls. [1]The Brut delights in showing how before death they underwent penance and made a holy confession of their sins, and after communion of the Body of Christ, and extreme unction, were buried in the sacred precincts of a religious foundation of their own. And lastly, the works of the bards add their evidence to prove that at this epoch as in others of Welsh history, religion was a great factor in the life of the people, and in different ways affected the higher and lower classes of Welsh Society.

History shows us that the character of a people does not easily change. Great migrations, social, political, and even religious revolutions, while they tend no doubt to the gradual modification, have nowhere wrought a radical transformation of racial tendencies. More perhaps than many, the Cymric nation has suffered from such. The migrations of the fifth century, the loss of independence in the thirteenth, the social and religious changes of the sixteenth, have all been brought to bear upon a people

1. Brut. ad 1129=32; 1136=7; 1159=60; 1169=70. Deaths of Maredudd ap Bleddyn, Gruffudd ap Cynan, Madog ap Maredudd, and Owain Gwynedd.

eminently sensitive, but while they have wrought superficial changes, they have not profoundly modified the Cymric character.

[1] In the twelfth century, the Welsh were as a nation given up to war. The lances of the North, the bowmen of the South of Wales, and especially of Gwent, were famous. At the first sound of battle, the noble left his castle, the husbandman his plough. The former fought on horseback; but the bulk of the Welsh forces were foot-soldiers, lightly armed, as was necessary in a land of mountain fastness and forest. In a charge, their dashing valour astonished their foes, who did not understand how an enemy on foot, unprotected by armour, dared meet the Norman mailed horse. But did they meet with stubborn resistance, they fell back as quickly as they came, only to return, if opportunity offered, to the onslaught.

[2] They were distinguished by thrift and sobriety, and endurance of hunger and cold. [3] They reverenced chastity. Their hospitality was remarkable; [4] the host and hostess waited in person upon the visitor, and he was entertained with the company of girls, the music of the harp, and every variety of social cheer. The women wore white turbans covering the head. Both men and women took great care of their teeth; the former shaved the beard, [5] but left the hair of the upper lip.

[6] They lived in wattled huts near the skirts of a wood

1. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 179–181. See also vi. 54, 177.

2. G. C. Op. vi., 182, 212.

3. Giraldus' testimony is of no value, because he looked at Welsh customs from the point of view of a member of the Latin church.—But see the Pedair Kainc y Mabinogi.

4. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 183—4.

5. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 185.—Cf. Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. v., cap. 14.

6. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 176, 180, 207, 211, &c.

in constant fear of a foe. They preferred to maintain themselves by the excitement of rapine, than by the peaceful ploughing of land; their agriculture was consequently primitive; but they took great care of their cattle, for they lived rather by their flesh, and on butter, cheese and milk, than by bread. They cared but little for commerce either by land or sea, and those mechanical arts which were not of service to war, received little support. Above all they were proud of their blood, [1] and an adherent of Henry's in the campaign of 1163, affirmed the popular belief that neither the Welsh race nor their language would ever cease.

It was no doubt the bad government of England for nearly twenty years, which was the prime cause of the success of the rebellion against the Norman yoke. But it was not the only one. Wales under Beauclerc's reign was thoroughly under Norman control. The annals of Gwynedd in the Brut during those thirty-five years are almost a blank; and we learn from other sources that it enjoyed profound tranquility under Gruffudd; and that agriculture, commerce and the arts of peace flourished. Deheubarth itself was partitioned among the foreigners, and though once or twice Gruffudd ap Rhys had raised tumult in the country, yet it was comparatively quiet, and for the last nineteen years of the reign is hardly mentioned by the Brut. Powys alone resisted Norman influence, and was a scene of continual violence and bloodshed. It seems that to this must be attributed in part the decline of Powysian influence after the death of Maredudd ap Bleddyn. The population of the district diminished in Henry's reign, while that of Gwynedd and Deheubarth

1. G. C. Op. vi., 227.

increased by rapid bounds. [1] One writer waxes enthusiastic over the iron government of the Southern districts by the Normans, and the restoration therein of law and order, and asserts that in fertility and plenty, they could compare with the most productive parts of Britain. [2] This increase in wealth and population was the determining factor which enabled Wales to profit by Stephen's misgovernment. The natural strength of the country, the adoption of Norman tactics where they were of advantage, of the system of castle building for the defence of land, above all the growth of a strong national feeling which forced the numerous native princes, from inclination or policy, to cease from their fatal broils of the beginning of the century, and to tend rather to union against a common foe, all these were so many aids to resistance of aggression, which the undoubted talent of two Welsh princes, Owain Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffudd, turned to account against a far greater enemy than Stephen had ever been.

1. Gesta. Steph. p. 329.—He says Wales, but his remarks can only apply to South Wales.
2. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 217–8.

CHAPTER VII.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF WALES FROM 1154 TO 1167.

Henry II.—Roger of Hereford's opposition to him—Reconciliation—Mortimer's revolt—The King Wars in the Marches—Mortimer's submission—Death of Roger of Hereford, 1155—Death of Maredudd ap Gruffudd of South Wales—His great ability—Rhys ap Gruffudd—The Flemings in Rhos and Gwyr—Hostilities between Owain Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffudd—Intrigues of Cadwaladr of Gwynedd and Madog of Powys with Henry—Henry's first invasion of Wales, 1157, and its failure—Events in South Wales—Earl William at war with the Welsh—Ifor Bach storms Cardiff Castle, 1158—Henry treats with Rhys ap Gruffudd—Clifford and Clare return to Wales to occupy their fiefs—Plundering of Rhys' land—Rhys takes Llanymddyfri and drives Clare from Ceredigion—Henry's second invasion of Wales, 1158—Rhys besieges Caerfyrddin, but is forced to raise the siege—Death of Madog ap Maredudd, 1160—Diminution of the influence of Powys in the Welsh affairs—War in Maelienydd and in Powys—Rhys ap Gruffudd's successes in South Wales—Henry's third invasion of Wales, 1163—Rhys submits—The Welsh princes do homage at Woodstock—Henry II's policy—Rhys again at war in South Wales, drives the Clares from Ceredigion—Owain's activity on the North East frontier——Henry's fourth and last invasion of Wales, 1165—Unity of the Welsh—Henry's failure—Rhys takes Aberteifi and Cilgerran—Foundation of Strata Florida—Negotiations of Owain with Louis VII of France—Capture of Basingwerk, 1166—Owain Cyfeiliog attacked by Owain Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffudd—Fall of Prestatyn and Rhuddlan before the Welsh, 1167.

THE prince that succeeded that gallant but feeble monarch on the throne of England, was destined to play an important part in Welsh history. [1] He was a scion of the house of Plantagenet, which had risen to eminence by continual conflict with its Norman and Breton neighbours. Popular legends, influenced by the wild and inconsistent character of its members, traced the origin of that house to the intercourse of the Devil with a daughter of Anjou. [2] Henry II. was himself a native of those smiling provinces which are watered by the Sarthe; he was a son of the

1. The first who bore the name of Plantagenet was Henry's own father, Geoffrey V. of Anjou.

2. Henry II. was born at Le Mans, on Mid-Lent Sunday, 5th March, 1133. [Acta Pontif. Cenomann. c. 36, in Mabillon, Vet. Analecta., p. 322].

French soil, and a Frenchman at heart; and it was on his French provinces that he lavished alike his wayward affection and his direct beneficence. At his accession he was barely twenty-one. [1] He seemed to have united in his own character most of the distinctive features of his race, its vices as well as its virtues, its weaknesses as well as its talents, its uncontrollable passions as well as its calculating prudence in policy, in fine, all those contradictions of temper which had made the descendants of Ingelger a byword among men. The immense possessions which by inheritance, by marriage or by conquest, were brought beneath his sway, joined to his qualities as an able general and an astute diplomat, made him formidable; and he was one of the most dangerous enemies that the Celtic-speaking peoples have had in their long history. During his reign, not only Wales, but Scotland, Ireland and Brittany, felt his power and acknowledged his supremacy.

Henry's great object at the beginning of his reign was the recovery of the royal castles, and the dismantling of those which the nobles had put up in the reign of Stephen. And he took no pains to hide his views, knowing that they were popular with the body of the nation, who had tired of ravage and slaughter. But the great nobles feared for the power they had exercised without hindrance for so long. Earl William of Gloucester was too timid, [2] Earl Hugh of Chester, too young to commence a vigorous struggle, [3] but Roger of Hereford withdrew from court, and hurried west to prepare Gloucester tower and his Hereford castles for

1. For Henry's character see a good description by Dr. Stubbs; Preface to vol. ii. of the Gesta. Reg. Henr. Sec. Benedicti Abb. in Rolls Series; and Miss Kate Norgate's Article on Henry II. in the Dict. of Nat. Biography.

2. Will. Malm. ii., 569, says:—Is comes [Randulfus] filiam comitis Gloecestrensis jamdudum a tempore regis Henrici duxerat.

3. Gerv. Cant. i., 161.

defence. Many who feared openly to avow his cause, favoured him in secret, [1] but the only noble of mark who actively supported him was Hugh de Mortimer, who fortified the castles of Cleobury, Wigmore and Bridgnorth against the king. [2] From the Welsh, however, who looked to him as a descendant through his mother of Kings Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Trahaiarn ap Caradog, and who were further ever ready to join an opponent of the English crown, the Earl received hearty support, and they garrisoned in numbers his castles in the Marches. Eventually Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, Roger's own kinsman, came to him and showed him the danger of embarking, without support, on war with a popular king. Persuaded by the eloquence of Gilbert, Roger was reconciled to Henry on the 13th of March, 1155, and gave up the royal castle of Gloucester. [3] But Hugh de Mortimer, who is described by his contemporaries as a man of dashing valour, but of presumptuous arrogance, refused to yield Bridgnorth. The king acted with promptitude, and besieged his three castles all at once. Cleobury he took and burnt. On the 7th of July, Mortimer submitted, surrendering Bridgnorth and Wigmore.

[4] Earl Roger was confirmed in his hereditary estates, but before the end of the year he died. Henry, who was determined to diminish the power of the great families, swollen to excess in the preceding reign, retained the earldom of Hereford and the city of Gloucester in his own hands. Walter, Miles' second son, only succeeded to his

1. For the revolt of William of Aumale in Yorkshire, see Will of Newburgh.
2. Gerv. Cant. 1, 162.
3. For different references to his character, see Wm. of Newburgh, lib. ii., cap. iv.; Robt. de Monte ad 1155; Gerv. Cant. i., 162.
4. Brut. ad 1154=5; Robert de Monte ad 1155.

brother's lands and revenues in Wales and the Marches, conspicuous among which were the lordship of Brycheiniog and the castle of Abergafeni.

[1] In the same year, 1155, the Welsh sustained severe loss by the death, at the age of twenty-five, of Maredudd ap Gruffudd. There is unanimity of praise with regard to this prince; [2] twice the Brut departs from the dry record of events to speak warmly of his virtues; and [3] Giraldus lauds the moderation of his rule. Certainly his ability was great; he was four years only the chief ruler of Deheubarth, during which he much extended his sway and consolidated the authority of his house; and [4] the Brut emphatically calls him the King of Dyfed and Ceredigion and the Vale of Tywi, for the last time giving the royal title to a Welsh prince in South Wales. Death, when life had barely begun, and his bravery and talent gave such hopes for the future, aroused suspicion, [5] and some were found to attribute his end to poison.

[1] Rhys, the youngest of the sons of Gruffudd, survived

1. Brut. ad 1144=5; Ann. Camb. ad 1156=5. 2. Brut. ad 1145=6 and 1154=5. 3. Gir. Camb. vi. 145.

4. All the MSS. used by Ab Ithel for his edtn. of the Brut. Repeat:—Y bu uarw Maredud uab Gruffud ab Rys brenhin Keredigiawn ac Ystrat Tywi a Dyfet.—The Brut. y Saeson, Myv. Arch. p. 678, says, ad 1154=5:—Y bu varw Moredud ap Grufud ap Rys o Keredigion oc ystrattywi a dyvet.

5. Ann. Camb. c. MS. ad ann. 1156=5.

6. It is necessary to protest against the erroneous idea that Rhys at once succeeded to the government on his father's death. It is due to the Gwentian Chron.:—"Oed Crist 1136, bu farw Gruffydd ap Rhys, a Rhys ei fab a gymerth ei le."—It has led the Rev. Thos. Price, among others, in Hanes Cymru. pp. 544 sq., to assume that Rhys was the eldest son of Gruffudd ap Rhys, and the multitude of other errors into which he has fallen, will be seen from the following short paragraph on p. 545:—"Heblaw Anarawd. a'i frawd Yr Arglwydd Rhys, gadawodd Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, ddau fab erall, sef Cadell a Meredydd, gwyr ieuainc dewrion a chlodwiw. Yr oedd Meredydd yn arglwydd Ceredigiawn, a Chadell yn meddiannu tiriogaeth yn Nyfed; ac ymddengys fod Rhys yn mwynhau arbenicter Deheubarth, eithr ni ddeallaf pa beth oedd etifeddiaeth Anarawd."—There is no authority for this division of territory, and it is no wonder that he could not assign any particular district of Deheubarth to Anarawd, as the latter was prince of the whole from 1137 to 1143. Similarly, Cadell in 1143, and Maredudd in 1151, assumed the chief government of the country, and it was not till 1155 that Rhys could be said to enjoy it.—In Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 85, after a reference to Richard, who was son of Tancard, castellan of Haverford and succeeded to his father's lands after the death of all his elder brothers, we have the following words:—"Similiter ad Resum Griphini filium, sublatis de medio multis antea fratribus probris et pulcherrimis, dextralis Kambriae dominium est devolutum."—This extract clearly shows that Rhys did not succeed to the government of Deheubarth till after his brother's death.—Maredudd was 25 in 1155, and consequently was born in or about the year 1130; and Rhys, who was younger than he [Ann. Camb. ed. 1156=5] can hardly have been born before 1132. He would have been barely five years old when his father died.

them. He was now about twenty-three. Like his brothers before him, he inherited much of his father's ability. He was as prudent in negotiation as he was brave, in battle; and he had literary tastes, for from the very first years of his government of the country, he gave support to the bards of his time, and enjoyed great popularity among them. His youth might have excused the want of a settled policy; but he seems to have begun very early the grouping around himself of all the princes of Welsh blood in South Wales; a thing very necessary when we consider that the lords of Maelienydd and Elfael, of Gwent and Glamorgan, of Gwerthrynion and Deheubarth, had hitherto been conspicuous rather from the wild incoherence of their aims than from any attempt to combine against their Norman enemy.

One of the first acts of Henry's reign had been the expulsion of Flemish marauders, who, in large numbers, devastated the country. They received an order to leave the kingdom by an appointed day. They left; but the Chroniclers of the time give us no clue to trace their destination. Some no doubt returned to Flanders; [1] but there is a tradition that of them many came to reinforce the settlements of their kinsmen in Rhos and Gwyr. Though we have no positive evidence, it is very probable that this was so; and certainly the Flemings, during Rhys' lifetime, recovered much of their power and unpopularity.

[2] In 1156 Owain Gwynedd prepared to recover Ceredi-

1. We find in the Gwentian Chronicle ad ann. 1154:—"Pan oedd Ystyffan yn Frenin fe ddaeth gydag ef laweroedd o Fflandrysiaid i Ynys Prydain, a'r rhai hynny a'i carent, ac efe a ddodai lawer o roddion ac anrhydedd iddynt, canys goreuon o'i Bleidyddion oeddynt, a gwedi dyfod Harri'r ail ni chaent aros yn Lloegr, achaws hynny daeth niferoedd mawrion o honynt i Cymru, a llawer o'r Saeson a gerynt Ystyffan, a'r dieithraid hynn a aethant yn wyr damdwng i Bendefigion y Ffrancod yng Nghoredigiawn a Dyfed."=For the expulsion of the Flemings from England, see Robert de Monte ad ann. 1155; William of Newburgh, lib. ii., cap. 1.; Gerv. Cant. Op. i., 161.

2. Brut. ad 1155=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1157=6.

gion, lost by his son three years before. Rhys led an army to oppose the invasion, and marched as far north as Aberdyfi. There he made trenches and awaited battle; but Owain declined the contest. Rhys then built a castle at Aberdyfi and returned to South Wales. This expedition of his paved the way to the future acquisition of Meirionydd.

[1] Henry II. had gone to Normandy in the beginning of 1156. His successes in the short time that had succeeded Stephen's death, had been brilliant, and it was natural that his attention should soon turn to affairs beyond the Marches with the desire of adding Wales to his dominion. A pretext was soon found. History can but condemn the two princes who preferred their country's woe to their own. Madog ap Maredudd had long chafed against the yoke. Since the defeat at Cwnsyllt we hear no more of him for some time; [2] but in 1156 he built a castle near Cymmer in Caereinion, possibly with a view to the future operations. His English sympathies grew with Owain's power. He found a collaborator in Cadwaladr, who, since his expulsion from Mon, must have been a fugitive in England. [3] This prince was apparently the youngest of the three sons of Gruffudd and Angharad, and was endowed with many gifts that go to make a popular chief. [4] He was one of the most liberal men of his time, and a generous patron of literature. [5] The Brut. couples him with his brother Owain

1. Robt. de Monte ad ann. 1156.
2. The five MSS. used by ab Ithel, say:—Ygkaer Einawn yn ymyl Kymer.—The Brut. y Saeson in Myv. Arch. p. 678, differs slightly:—Yngereinawn kyverbyn Kymher.—What is known now as Castell Caereinion is a village to the South-West of Welshpool.
3. The order—Cadwallon, Owain, Cadwaladr—is supported by what evidence we have. See Hanes Gruffudd in Myv. Arch., Brut. ad 1122=5.—The oldest MS. of the Brut. [Hengwrt, B. of ab Ithel] assigns the invasion of Meirionydd in 1124 to Cadwallon and Owain, not Cadwaladr and Owain.—See Brut. ad 1121=4.—Cadwallon was killed in 1132 [Brut. ad 1129=32; Ann. Camb.]—Several MSS. wrongly refer to him as Cadwgan, son of Gruffudd ap Cynan.
4. Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 145; see also Awdl a Gant. Gwalchmai i Dafyd mab Owain in Myv. Arch. p. 146., lines 23—4 of the poem.
5. See Brut. ad 1135=6.

in a long panegyric and asserts that he was an ornament of the Welsh nation. [1] By his marriage with Alice, daughter of Richard Fitz Gilbert, Cadwaladr had become a land-owner in Lancashire and Shropshire, and we have a charter by which he made donation of lands between Mersey and Ribble to the Church. By her, too, he was brother-in-law of the young Earl of Clare and no doubt used the influence of that noble at court to further his own interests. It was the disastrous system of gavelkind that prevented Owain from gathering round him all Gwynedd and turned into a mere partisan fighting for land, a man who might have done incalculable service by steady co-operation with his brother in a national policy.

Henry thought the claims of the two princes plausible, and sufficient to justify an expedition. [2] He returned from Normandy on the 7th of April 1157, and at the end of June commenced preparations on a large scale for the invasion and subjugation of Gwynedd. From all England, three knights were called out to military service for every two which had formerly been deemed sufficient. [3] In the middle of July, Henry's forces concentrated in the plains of Chester, while Owain Gwynedd with his sons and all the forces he could muster, entrenched himself at Basingwerk to oppose them. [4] The position must have been too strong for direct attack, for Henry determined it to turn it by a flank movement. Along the sea-coast of the Cantref of

1. The Charter of donation is found in Sir John Wynne's Hist. of the Gwydyr family; see Price, Hanes Cymru, p. 549.—It may be dated 1153; for among the witnesses we find R. comes de Clara, and Ranulphus comes Cestriae.—Now Roger succeeded his brother Gilbert as Earl of Clare in 1153 and Ranulph of Chester died in December of the same year.—For the lands in Shropshire see Pipe Roll ii. iii. iv. Henr. ii., p.p. 43. 88.

2. R. de Monte ad 1157.

3. After the 17th of July according to Gerv. Cant.

4. For what follows cf. Brut. y Tywysogion & Brut. y Saeson ad 1156 = 7; Ann. Camb. ad 1158 = 7; Wm. de Newburgh, lib. ii., cap. v.; Gerv. Cant.

Tegeingl, with a body of picked men, the king in person made a secret march, leaving the bulk of his troops to face Owain.

But Henry knew nothing of the difficult warfare of Wales; while threading their way through the wood of Cennadlog near Cwnsyllt, he and his army were surprised by Owain's two sons Dafydd and Cynan, who had intelligence of the movement. At one time the king himself was in danger and some spoke of his death. Henry of Essex threw down the royal standard, and fled, telling of the king's end to all he met. In vain, Henry showed himself and succeeded in rallying his men. He escaped with difficulty into the open plains. Eustace Fitz John and Robert de Courci were among the many slain. Owain, afraid of being outflanked, prudently retreated; and Henry gathered together all his troops at Rhuddlan.

[1] Meanwhile the king's fleet had sailed to Mon. The knights on board disembarked and ravaged the island, plundering the cwmwd of Rhoshir and spoiling the churches of St. Peter, St. Mary and St. Tyfrydog. The men of Mon gathered together for vengeance on the foreigners, and though themselves fewer in number and badly armed, defeated them completely. Henry, son of Nest by Henry I, carried away by his own courage, and left with but a small following, was killed in the front rank, and with him William Trenchemer and other knights of name. Robert Fitz Stephen, another of Nest's sons, took part in this expedition. He was grievously wounded in

1. For the operations of the fleet see Brut. ad 1156 = 7; Ann. Camb. ad 1158=7; Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 130—1; William of Newburgh, lib. ii. cap. v.—One MSS. used by ab Ithel [D.] for the Brut. y Tywysogion, and also the Brut. y Saeson in the Myv. Arch. p. 678, make Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, the commander of a portion of the king's fleet.

the engagement, and with difficulty made his way to the ships. Nearly all the leaders of the fleet were slain.

The news of this second disaster decided Henry to make peace. He had not found war in Wales an easy matter. Indeed, Owain lay still fronting him at Llwyn Pina, and harassed his army night and day. Madog ap Maredudd had arrived with the forces of Powys; but instead of joining Henry, [1] he had taken up a position between the two opponents, awaiting events. [2] The king contented himself, therefore, with obtaining Owain's homage, and the restitution of Cadwaladr's territory which had been one of the ostensible pretexts for the expedition. He cleared some forest ground and opened up a few roads; he fortified both Basingwerk and Rhuddlan, and between the two built a house for the Knights Templars. Rhuddlan castle was entrusted to Hugh de Beauchamp. Whether Henry obtained advantageous terms for Madog of Powys is not so clear, but we know that before the close of the campaign Iorwerth Coch got possession of the castle which Owain Gwynedd had built in Ial, and burnt it.

The scene of war now changed. The little success that Henry had met in Gwynedd encouraged South Wales to resistance, and seems to have aroused even the Welsh of Glamorgan to attack the Normans. Sainghenydd was a Welsh lordship, stretching north of Cardiff far into the Glamorganshire hills to the very borders of Ewyas, and to the East touching Gwent. It was held at this time by Ifor, son of Meurug, a man of little stature but immense

1. The Brut. says:—A Madawc uab Maredud Arglwyd Powys a dewissawd y le y bebyllyau rwg llu y brenhin a llu Owein val y gallei erbynyeit y kyrcheu kyntaf awnelei y brenhin.

2. Wm. of Newburgh, cap. ii. lib. v.; Robt. de Monte ad 1157; Brut. ad 1156=7; Ann. Camb. ad 1158=7.

courage, known best to his countrymen as Ifor Bach. [1] Early in the year 1158, Morgan ab Owain, lord of Caerlleon, had been slain in treachery by the troops of Ifor, and Iorwerth, Morgan's brother, had succeeded to most of his authority. Other changes had taken place. Fitz Hamon's daughter had died in 1157, and Earl William assumed the sole government of his lands. His first acts do not seem to have been wise. His Welsh subjects were excited to revolt by restrictions on the action of their own laws, and an attempt to take over a part of Sainghenydd fanned the discontent into flame. [2] From the hills hard by Ifor dashed down on Cardiff Castle one night. It was strongly fortified, defended by one hundred and twenty knights and many soldiers; and the town itself contained numerous retainers capable of bearing arms. Careless of these dangers, Ifor and his Welsh, by means of ladders scaling the walls, entered the castle in triumph. William, his countess Hawise, a daughter of Robert le Bossu, Earl of Leicester, and Robert their only son, still quite a child, were borne away prisoners to the woody heights. They obtained their liberty by the restoration of the confiscated land, and many other concessions to their victor.

[3] Meanwhile Rhys ap Gruffudd, from his position in Ystrad Tywi, continued to defy the king. Henry sent messengers to him asking him to court, with threats of compulsion in case of refusal; and Rhys, by the advice of his nobles, complied. He himself was not inclined to make peace, but was prevailed upon to accept the king's

1. Brut. ad 1157=8; Ann. Camb. ad 1159=8.

2. Ann. Marg. ad 1158; Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 63—4. See the distorted account in Gwentian Chron. ad 1110.—

3. Brut. y Tywysogion and Brut. y Saeson ad 1157=8; Ann. Camb. ad 1159=8.

terms. By these he was recognised lord of Cantref Mawr, and was promised another Cantref bordering upon it. If the treaty was to be taken literally, Rhys would have abandoned all control over the rest of Ystrad Tywi, not to speak of Dyfed and Ceredigion. Whether or not he himself gave such an interpretation to the words of the treaty, it was evidently that of the Norman lords whose claims to land in South Wales had only been left in abeyance during Stephen's reign because they could not be made good. [1] Walter Clifford seized Llanymddyfri and Cantref Bychan. [2] Roger Fitz Richard who had succeeded his brother Gilbert five years before as Earl of Clare, also thought the moment come for reclaiming North Ceredigion, and at the beginning of June 1158 he occupied and garrisoned Rhys' castles at Aberdyfi, Ystrad Meurug, Dineirth and Llanrhystud and in the Vale of Calettwr. Meanwhile Henry himself had not honourably fulfilled the treaty. Influenced no doubt by interested parties, he gave Rhys a Cantref separated from Cantref Mawr by the land of several Norman barons. Rhys accepted it and still kept the peace. But Clifford plundered Cantref Mawr and killed many subjects of Rhys who applied to the king for the punishment of the offender. Henry refused to interfere. The revolted Welsh were already blockading Llanymddyfri; Rhys, confident of gaining more by force of arms than by legal procedure, joined them and at the first attack took the castle.

Thence he marched into Ceredigion. His nephew

1. Walterus Clifford, dominus Cantref Bethan in Ann. Camb. ad 1159=8.—Walter was son of a Richard; he was evidently the heir, perhaps the son of the Richard, son of Ponson, mentione in the Brut. ad 1113=6 as the first Norman lord of Cantref Bychan.

2. Ann. Theokesb. ad 1153.

Einion, son of his elder brother Anarawd, chafing against the inaction imposed by the late treaty, had already broken the peace, taken the castle of Humfrey in the Vale of Calettwr and put the garrison to the sword. Rhys completed his work; he took and burnt all the castles held by Clare in the district. [1] Henry hearing of these events appeared in South Wales with an army; he did nothing, however, towards restoring tranquillity; several engagements took place; and some assert that a treaty was made, and hostages were extorted from Rhys. The king crossed over to Normandy on the 14th of August, 1158.

[2] But the treaty, if treaty there was, did not prevent Rhys from continuing his successes. The recovery of Ceredigion was followed by the recovery of Dyfed. The descendants of Nest had joined Henry in his attack on Gwynedd, and identified themselves with the Norman party. No doubt their subjection to the sons of Gruffydd since the defeat at Llanstephan was irksome to them. Rhys harried their country, and throughout Dyfed burnt the Norman castles.

[3] Then he invested the fortress of Caerfyrddin. To save this important place, a formidable but mixed army was gathered by the uncle of the king, Reginald Earl of

1. As this expedition is not referred to in English historians, it will be interesting to give the authorities. The Brut y Tywysogion says:—"A gwedy clybot or brenhin hyt ny kyrchu Deheubarth a wnaeth a llu gantaw. A gwedy mynych wrthynebu o Rys ac wyr idaw ymchoelud awnaeth y Loegyr. Ac odyno yd aeth drwy y mor."—One MSS., however, [C. of ab Ithel] agrees with the rendering of Brut y Saeson in Myr. Arch. p. 676 ad 1157=8:—"A gwe ly Klywet or brenhin hynny, y doeth yr eilweith y deheubarth Kymre a chymryt gwystlon y gan Rys ap Grufud a dychwelut y loygyr, ac yn lle ydaeth diwy vor."—The Ann. Theokesb. merely says:—"Rex facta pace cum Reso transfretavit."—The Vatican MS. of Robert de Monte according to Dom Bouquet xiii. 300, says:—[A.D. 1158] "Having subdued Wales and made the whole of it pay tribute to him, on the vigil of the Assumption of St. Mary, King Henry crossed over to Normandy."

2. The conquest of Dyfed took place in 1159. Rhys, no doubt, took advantage of Henry's absence on the Continent.—Brut ad 1158=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1160=59.

3. For this 1159 campaign see Brut ad 1158=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1160=59; and Seisyll's poem to Rhys in Myv. Arch. pp. 236—7.

Cornwall, a bastard of Henry I. Reginald had interests in Wales, and all the great Norman landowners gathered to support him. [1] Among them were Roger, Earl of Clare, William of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan, Richard Strongbow, son of Gilbert, Earl of Chepstow and Pembroke. From Gwynedd came Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd and the two sons of Owain, Howel and Cynan, either bound by some treaty with the king or anxious for vengeance on Rhys for his action in Meirionydd three years before. With so formidable an array, [2] Rhys felt the imprudence of battle, and raising the siege, entrenched himself to the north-east of Caerfyrddin on the height of Cefn Rhestr; his enemies did not dare to assail his strong position and offered him a truce. Rhys accepted it and disbanded his forces. But he had shown his strength, and some of the exultation of the national party in the South may be seen in the poem of Seisyll Bryffwrch in his honour.

For the three years that succeeded Henry's campaign in Gwynedd, Madog ap Maredudd recovered independence from Owain; [3] but on the other hand he was compelled to the payment of an annual tribute to England.

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1. The Brut and Ann. Camb. only give the names of Reginald of Cornwall, William of Bristol and Roger of Clare; but they add that two other earls took part in the campaign against Rhys. The names of these two are given in the poem of Seisyll Bryffwrch as iarll gwent, evidently Richard Strongbow, Earl of Striguil or Chepstow; and iarll padrig whom it is difficult to identify, but who is possibly the same as a comes Patricius present at the Council of Clarendon in January, 1164 [Materials for Hist. of Archb. Becket iv. 207.]

2. Kefyn Restyr is the reading of the A. & C. MSS. of Ab. Ithel.—B. gives Kynen Rychter mein, and D. kynen rychtir mein.—The B. MS. of the Ann. Camb. says Resterwein.—From the account in the Brut it would appear as if the campaign was bloodless.—The C. MS. of the Annales Cambriae, however, says:—"Resus fugatus est apud Cayrmardyn"—The B. MS. has before the retreat on Cefn Rhestr, the significant entry:—"Goroun bun frater Resi occisus est"—Goroun bun is probably for Goronwy, but he can not have been a brother of Rhys ap Gruffudd.—Seisyll's poem also points to bloodshed. It is difficult to say what is the twr Gwallter of the poem; but the lines beginning—Lliwgoch tref llat—seem to show that the peninsula of Llanstephan was a scene of conflict.

3. Pipe Rolls ii. iii. iv. Henr ii. pp. 89, 170.

[1] His last years were spent in peace, in the lavish hospitality and enlightened encouragement of literary effort in connection with which his name has come down to us. [2] There is a tradition that he spent some time in a visit to the English court, [3] and he may have been the Welsh prince who fought with Henry at the siege of Toulouse. [4] In 1160 he died, and was buried in the precincts of the church of St. Tyssilio at Meifod.

[5] His power had stretched from Plynlimmon to the gates of Chester, and from Bangor Iscoed to the extremity of Merionydd. Nothing shows so much the diminution of the influence of Powys in Welsh affairs as the fact that Madog was undoubtedly lord of the whole country for a long period, and yet never took any decisive part in national affairs as his father Maredudd had done. When

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1. See Gwalchmai's poems with the following superscriptions in Myv. Arch. pp. 146—51 :—
   (*a*) Awdl o Gant Gwalchmai i Dafyd mab Owain.
   (*b*) Arwyrain Madawg mab Maredud. Gwalchmai ai Cant.
   (*c*) Marwnad Madawg mab Maredud. Gwalchmai ai Cant.
   (*d*) Breudwyd Gwalchmai.

   See Cynddelw's on pp 154—6 :—
   (*a*) Arwyrain Madawg fab Maredud. Cyndelw Brydyd ai Cant.
   (*b*) Tri Englyn ai gant Cyndelw Fawr i Fadawg fab Maredud.
   (*c*) Llyma Englynion a gant Cyndelw Fawr i Fadawg fab Maredud.
   (*d*) Marwnad Fadawg fab Maredud. Cyndelw ai Cant.
   (*e*) Englynyon a gant Cyndelw y Deulu Madawc M. Maredut. Pan un uaru Madawc. Am Glybod eu Godwryf.

   The last two of Cynddelw's are found in the Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin. ff 52—3 B.

   The last line of the Englynion—Tyll eu hysgwydaur teruysc vawr vaon—is evidently the commencement of a new stanza, but it is not found in the Llyfr Du, and could hardly have belonged to the original poem in which every englyn begins with the words Godwryf a glywaf.

2. See the Guest edition of the Mabinogion, 1877. Gwallter Mechain found the tradition in M.S.—Madog is said to have married a Norman lady, Matilda Verdun, who inveigled him to Winchester ; there he was on some pretext kept in durance and prevailed upon to settle the lordship of Oswestry on her and any children she might have after his decease.—She married John Fitz Alan soon after her first husband's death.

3. Quidam rex Gualiae certainly suggests one of the princes of the larger divisions of Wales. See Gerv. Cant.

4. Brut ad 1159=60 ; Ann. Camb. ad 1161=60.

5. Gwalchmai's elegy of Madog in Myv. Arch. p. 148 ; also the introductory part of the Dream of Rhonabwy.—There is an erroneous idea prevalent, and derived from Powel, Hist. of Cambria, ed 1584, p. 153, that Maredudd ap Bleddyn divided Powys between Gruffudd and Madog, two of his sons, and that the latter obtained Northern Powys and gave it his name. As a matter of fact Gruffudd ap Maredudd died before his father in 1128.—The distinction between Powys Fadog and Powys Wenwynwyn arose at a latter date when Madog ap Gruffudd Maelawr was lord of the northern part, and Gwenwynwyn lord of the southern part of Powys.

he died, no one succeeded to the chief government of the country, which unfortunately became the prize of the boldest and most unscrupulous. [1] Madog's own sons divided his inheritance between them. Very soon after [2] Llywelyn, one of them, was slain. With him, says the Brut, went the hope of the men of Powys. He was a brave soldier and a great huntsman, and his death left his cousin, the able Owain ap Gruffudd of Cyfeiliog, now in the prime of life, the most powerful chieftain in Powys. For nearly forty years after Madog's death, this country, lacking unity under a single ruler, ceased to play an important part in the affairs of Wales.

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1. Madog ap Maredudd is said to have had by his wife Susanna, daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan [Hanes Gruff. ap Cynan in Myv. Arch. p 730] three sons, Gruffudd Maelawr, Owain Fychan and Elisse, and a daughter, Marred, who espoused Iorwerth Drwyndwn, and became mother of Llywelyn Mawr.—Possibly by another wife, he had a son Llywelyn, and a daughter Efa, referred to in the poem by Cynddelw :—"Rieingert Euq. Verch Vadawc, M. Maredut"—in Myv. Arch. p. 157, and who became the wife of Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd [Gir. Camb. Op. i.] —Gwenllian, another daughter of Madog, married Rhys ap Gruffudd, and in 1188 dissuaded him from taking the cross [Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 15].—Three bastards are attributed by the genealogists to Madog,—Cynfrig, Einion and Owain. Cynfrig and Einion were twins, and are consequently known as Cynfrig Efell and Einion Efell; their mother was a daughter of Madog ab Einion ab Urien of Maengwynedd.—Owain Brogyntyn or of Porkington near Oswestry, Madog had by a daughter of the Maer Ddu or Black Reeve of Rug in Edeyrnion.—He inherited from his father Dinmael, Edeyrnion and perhaps Penllyn [MSS. in Sebright collection, quoted in Arch. Cambrensis, 1st Series, i. 105].—The Wenhewm which he gave to the monks of Basingwerk may have been Gwernhefin, near Bala. [David's confirmation of grant in Dugd. Mon. v. 263.]—Owain Brogyntyn married :—

   (*a*) Sioned, daughter of Howel ap Madog ab Idnerth, by whom he had no issue.

   (*b*) Marred, daughter of Einion ap Seisyll of Mathafarn, by whom he had Gruffudd, Bleddyn and Iorwerth.—His posterity long had rights of lordship in Dinmael and Edeyrnion.—For Bleddyn ab Owain Brogyntyn see Rymer's Foedera, ed. 1839, i. 76.—I am indebted for some of these facts to the article of John Edward Lloyd on Owain Brogyntyn in the Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlii. 395.

   Another daughter of Madog married Howel ab Ieuaf of Arwystli, who had a daughter, Susannah, by her. [Brut. ad 1205.]

2. Brut ad 1159=60; Ann. Camb. ad 1161=60. For Llywelyn ap Madog see :—

   (*a*) Dau englyn a gant Cyndelw i Gynydion Llywelyn am Madawc am Maredud ac iw gyrn o achos rodi ido y carw a ladassant yn ymyl ei dy.—Myv. Arch. p. 159.

   (*b*) Englynyon a gant Llywarch Llaety y Lln. ap Madawc ap Maredud. Myv. Arch. pp. 280—1.—Thos. Price, Hanes Cymru, pp. 566—8, and Thos. Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, pp. 51--5—call the poet Llywarch Llew Cad, because he so refers to himself in line 3 of the 14th verse. It is clear, after reading the poem, that he lived in Llywelyn's own time, i.e. circa 1140—1160; and I know not on what evidence the editors of the Myvyrian assigned the date 1290—1340 to him.

   (*c*) Englynion a gant Llywarch y Nam i Llywelyn fab Madawg Mab Mareddudd. Myv. Arch. p. 335.—It is possibly the same Llywarch, although Llywarch y Nam, according to the editors of the Myvyrian, flourished 1310—1350.

[1] About this time there was a renewal of the war between the surviving sons of Madog ab Idnerth. Cadwallon of Maelienydd succeeded in making his brother Einion Clud a prisoner, and handed him over to Owain Gwynedd. The latter in his turn gave him over to the representatives of the King of England, and Einion was imprisoned at Worcester. He was not long in making his escape; with the help of his friends, he left Worcester and hurried back to his lands in Elfael.

The death of Madog perhaps permitted Owain Gwynedd to extend once more his influence over Powys. At least, he seems henceforward to have interfered in its affairs as suzerain. [2] Thus when in 1162 Howel ab Ieuaf of Arwystli invaded the Cantref of Cyfeiliog, captured Tafalwern Castle by treachery, and bore off much booty beyond Severn, [3] Owain took it as an affront, and hurried an army to Llandinam in pursuit, and engaging Howel's force of three hundred men, defeated them with great slaughter, more than two-thirds being left on the field.

In the next year the princes of Powys fell out among themselves. The event is mentioned by the Brut, but

1. One MS. of the Brut y Tywysogion [D of Ab Ithel] agrees with the Brut y Saeson, Myv. Arch. p. 679:—"Ac y dalpwyt Cadwallawn ap Madoc ap Idnerth y gan Einaun Clut y vraut."—The true version is found in the other MSS. used by Ab Ithel for his edition of the Brut y Tywysogion, and the 2 MSS. of the Ann. Camb.—The curious way in which the Gwentian Chronicle corrupts the facts of history is again seen:—"Yng nghylch yr un amser y daliwyd Cadwallawn ab Madawc ab Idnerth gan Owain Gwynedd, yr hwn ai dodes yng Ngharchar y Brenin yn Llundain.—

2. Howel ab Ieuaf is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls, 3 Henr. ii. [1156—7], ed. 1844, p. 89, as Hoelo filio ioaf.—He died in 1185 [Brut].—See Englynyon a gant Kyndelw y Hywel vab Ieuaf, Myv. Arch. p. 184.—

3. The Brut y Tywysogion represents Owain as grieved for the treacherous capture of Tafalwern.—The Brut y Saeson, Myv. Arch. p. 679, gives a different reason:—"Ac am hynny y kymyrth Owain ap Gruffudd tristwch yndaw am varw y vam. hyt na allei dim y digrifhau."—

Curiously the C MS. of the Ann. Camb. says:—"Res filius Grifut castella de Walwerin et de Lanamdewri vi cepit."—The Walwerin is probably a mistake for the Dinweilir of the B MS.

The Gwentian Chronicle is very mixed:—"Oed Crist 1160 bu ymladd a diffeithiaw cyd-tiroedd rhwng Owain ab Madawc Arglwydd Cyfeiliawc a Hywel ab Cadwgawn Arglwydd Cyfoeth Elystan Glodrydd, heb nemawr ynnill a gorfod i'r un na'r llall."—In reality Owain ap Gruffudd was lord of Cyfeiliog; and the land of Elystan Glodrudd was partitioned among several princes, and the only Howel among them was Howel ab Ieuaf of Arwystli.—The Gwentian Chronicle is giving a garbled account of the defeat of the latter by Owain Gwynedd.

there is great obscurity in the readings. The more probable story, however, is that the brothers quarrelled. Nothing was commoner in Wales, and [1] Giraldus lays the blame for constant fatricide on the system of foster fathers holding among the Welsh as among all early Celtic peoples. Owain Cyfeiliog eagerly took advantage of this to extend his own influence, and sided with Owain Fychan against Gruffudd, lord of Ial and Maelawr. The two Owains helped perhaps by Howel ab Ieuaf, the lord of Arwystli, [2] besieged the castle of Careghova, near Oswestry, and took it by force.

During this time Rhys ap Gruffudd was not idle. The king's long absence from England gave him a free hand. [3] In October, 1161, in vengeance for Gloucester's invasion of his territories, Rhys' troops harried the lordship of Glamorgan, and burnt the grange of the monastery of Margam. [4] In 1162, Walter Clifford was again driven out of Cantref Bychan, and Rhys made himself master of the strong castles at Dinweilir and Llanymddyfri. Clare and

1. Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 211, 225.

2. The 5 MSS. of the Brut used by Ithel agrees in saying that Careghova was taken. By whom it is difficult to find. The 3 best MSS. say:—"Y gan Owein ab Gruffudd ab Owein ab Madawc a Maredud vab Howel."—Cleopatra B v. says:—"a Maredud a Howel."—The Llyfr du Baring says:—"ap Maredud a Howel ap Madog i vrawd."—The Brut y Saeson in Myv. Arch. p. 679 says:—"Y gan Owein ap Gruffudd ac Owein ap Madoc a Maredud a Howel." It should perhaps be: "Y gan Owein ap Gruffud ac Owein ab Madawc ab Maredud a Howel." I know of no son of Madog called Howel and should be inclined to suppose that Howel ab Ieuaf of Arwystli, so lately mentioned in the Brut, had joined the two Owains in an attack on Gruffudd. There is no Maredudd ap Howel at this time, and the well known prince of that name had been killed in 1140.

3. See Ann. Marg. ad ann. 1161.

4. See Ann. Camb. ad 1163=2.—The Clifford family claimed descent from Pons, who left five sons, Walter, Drogo, Osbern, Simon, Richard.—Richard Fitz Pons, who received Cantref Bychan from Henry I [Brut ad 1113=6], married Maud; and Walter Fitz Richard inherited not only his father's lands, but those of his uncles Drogo and Walter, [Eyton, Shropshire; Doomsday Book]. In 1138 he witnessed a Gloucester Charter [Eyton v. 148; Monasticon i 551]. He appears as a Herefordshire landowner in Pipe Rolls of 1157–8 [p. 144]. We find him master of Broullys before 1170. He was a benefactor to several monasteries, Haughmond, Dore, Godstow [Monasticon viii, 551, and Eyton]. He was still living in 1187, and died according to Eyton in 1190. His wife, Margaret, could not have been, as has been stated, a daughter of Ralph de Tony. He left three sons, Walter, Richard, William; and three daughters, Lucia who married Hugo de Sai, Amicia who married Osbern Fitz Hugo, and the celebrated Rosamond, mistress of Henry II.

Clifford both harrassed [1] Henry with complaints, and on the 25th January, 1163, [2] he landed in England, vowing vengeance on Rhys. Robert de Montfort had publicly accused Henry of Essex of traitorous cowardice in the first Welsh campaign. [3] Thinking the affair opportune, the king gave permission for a duel, and Essex was vanquished. His estates were confiscated, and he became a monk at Reading. [4] After this exemplary punishment, Henry marched through South Wales, keeping close to the sea coast as far as Caerfyrddin; he then turned abruptly northwards, and penetrated through the western part of Ystrad Tywi to Pencadair. [5] Thence he sent a Breton knight who enjoyed his confidence, to Dinefwr, under the guidance of Guaidanus, dean of Cantref Mawr. He was to mark the means of approach and the degree of strength of the castle. The wily dean, forewarned, took the Breton by a difficult road, and by ingenious devices impressed him with the barbarous nature of the country and its people. [6] Meanwhile Rhys had surrendered. Henry on hearing his envoy's relation decided to accept the Welsh prince's overtures; Clifford and Clare were to receive their lands;

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1. As early as 1161, Herbert of Bosham, in Vita S. Thomae [lib. iii., cap. i], published by the Master of the Rolls among the Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket, vol. iii., p. 180—speaks of the king's concern at the crebrae Wallensium infestationes.—

2. Plurimum Wallensibus imprecans—are the words of Diceto ad 1163.—

3. William of Newburg, lib. ii. cap v.; Robert de Monte ad 1163. Diceto ad 1163 adds nothing to Robert de Monte.—Dugdale, Baron i. 463.—

4. Brut ad 1162=3 Ann. Camb. ad 1164=3; Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 62-3, 81-2, 138, 227.—Giraldus tells us that when Henry crossed Nant Pentcarn, the Welsh were much discouraged on account of the following prophecy of Merlin:—"Cum fortem lentiginosum in dextrales Britones irruere videris, si Red Pencarn transierit, Kambriae vires noveris enervari."—Nant Pentcarn has been identified with the river Ebbw or Ebwy, which runs into the Usk estuary.

5. These details are found in Giraldus, Op. vi. 81—2.

6. Giraldus Cambrensis, Op. viii. 216, seems to say that Owain Gwynedd induced Rhys to surrender.

[1] Rhys was to do homage in England; and hostages were to be given for his future conduct. [2] The king returned to his country through the mountainous districts of Central Wales by way of Maelienydd, to Radnor and Hereford. [3] He then called a great court at Woodstock to witness the homage of his subject princes. Malcolm came from Scotland; Owain Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffudd from Wales, accompanied by other princes of minor rank, and all on the 1st of July, 1163, did fealty to the king and his little heir, a boy named after his father and now but eight years old.

This was the first time since the great Revolt that the leaders of the Welsh nation had been found united in acknowledging the supremacy of the King of England. But this ceremony of homage at Woodstock showed the difference between the Welsh policies of Henry I. and Henry II., and how much the nation had gained during the twenty-eight years that followed the former's death. Beauclerc governed Wales with a rule of iron. He superposed, especially in South Wales, a Norman aristocracy who reduced the older Welsh lords to mere stewards of their lands. Henry II. desired to feudalize the Welsh princes themselves, to assimilate them to the rank of the great Norman earls, holding their lands from him, but he

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1. I am not of opinion that Rhys returned directly with Henry to England. The Brut says simply:—"Ac y daeth hyt ym Penn Cadeir. A gwedy rodi gwystlon o Rys idaw ymchoelut y Loegyr a wnaeth."—Similarly the C MS. of the Ann. Cambriae:—"Henricus venit contra Resum usque Pencadeyr, et pacifice in Angliam reversus est."—But the B MS. says:—"Henricus ad bellandum Resum usque and Penchaideirn pervenit; sed Resus cum rege, facta pace, in Angliam ivit." There is perhaps a mistake in punctuation, and the comma should come after Resus and not after rege.—On the other hand in his account of the proceedings, Giraldus Op. vi. 81—2, says:—"Reso Griphino filio, nostris diebus, ad deditionem dolose magis quam virtuose compulso, et in Angliam ducto etc," which seems to suggest that he was taken by Henry to England. Further, however, after the return of the king's envoy from Dinefwr, presumably to Henry at Pencadair we have:—"demum fidei sacramentique nodis, necnon et obsidum vinculis abstrictum, Resum rex ad sua remisit."—The balance of evidence is much in favour of Rhys merely promising to come to England to do homage as he did on the 1st of July.

2. Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 138.

3. Radulfus de Diceto ad 1163.

never attempted to remove a Welsh prince or to substitute a Norman for a Welsh landowner. He was, in a word, the defender of the existing state of things; with this exception, that he aimed at a feudal rather than a tribal tenure.

The ceremony had little immediate result. No long peace could Rhys keep with his neighbours, the Norman lords of South Wales. [1] At the instigation of Roger de Clare, his nephew Einion had been assassinated in his sleep by a subject, Walter ap Llywarch; and Walter Fitz Richard Clifford had killed Cadwgan ap Maredudd. [2] Before 1163 was over Rhys had mastered Cantref Mawr and taken Dinefwr from Clifford. [3] In the next year, meeting with no sympathy from the king in his complaints, Rhys, once more taking matters into his own hands, attacked Clare and drove him from Ceredigion, after burning his castles at Aber Rheidiol and Mabwynion. Again the Welsh hatred of the Flemings was shown, for those settled by Clare in his lands were ruthlessly spoiled by Rhys.

There had been steadily growing among the Welsh princes a distrust of Henry, due to the curiously faithless, unscrupulous policy he had hitherto pursued in his dealings with the Cymric population, and which he changed in his later days when instructed by wider experience and continuous defeat. [4] This distrust grew to a head in 1164,

1. Brut ad 1162=3; Ann. Camb. ad 1164=3.
2. Brut ad 1162=3.
3. Brut ad 1163=4; Ann. Camb. ad 1165=4.
4. Brut ad 1163=4; Ann. Camb. ad 1165=4.—See also R. de Monte, who says ad 1164:—"The Welsh did not keep faith with King Henry, but ravaged and overran the country nearest to them, influenced thereto by a certain prince of theirs, named Riz, and another person named Oen, the uncle to Ris, and as bad as himself."—

and a preliminary agreement was made by Owain Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffudd against the king. While Ceredigion was reduced by Rhys, Owain also ravaged the Norman lands on the north Welsh frontier. [1] Early in 1165, his elder son by Chrisiant, Dafydd, invaded Tegeingl, and bore off the population wholesale to the Vale of Clwyd. The castles built in the Cantref by Henry in his first campaign against Owain, were now in great danger, and hurriedly gathering an army, the king advanced to Rhuddlan, where he remained three days, probably to see to the proper garrisoning and victualling of the Castle. He then returned to England, where he made preparations on a large scale for a Welsh invasion.

The summer of 1165 had begun when Henry advanced into Wales through Oswestry. The impending danger strengthened the bonds of union between the Welsh princes, and with pleasure we see Gwynedd, Deheubarth and Powys acting together against the foe. The rendezvous of the Welsh princes was in Edeyrnion, at Corwen in the Valley of Dee, and to it came Owain and Cadwaladr with the troops of Gwynedd; Rhys from Deheubarth; Owain Cyfeiliog, Iorwerth Coch, and the sons of Madog ap Maredudd with the whole force of Powys; and the sons of Madog ab Idnerth, Cadwallon and Einion Clud, with the men of Elfael and Maelienydd. Alone the princes of Gwent and Glamorgan did not join the national alliance, but again affirmed their severance from the great body of the Welsh people.

1. See Brut y Tywysogion ad 1164=5.

[1] The king, from Oswestry, penetrated into the Vale of Ceiriog, and began to cut down the trees which rendered the country so difficult; while he was so engaged, a part of the Welsh army attacked his force, and an indecisive battle took place. The advance guard of Henry's army encamped in the Berwyn mountains, which form the present boundary between the counties of Merioneth and Denbigh. [2] A few days after the weather changed, and torrents of rain fell, the country, always presenting difficulties to an army, now became impenetrable; provisions began to fail; Henry, in a wild access of the furious cruelty which was so notorious a characteristic of the Plantagenet temper, [3]bade his twenty-two Welsh hostages be mutilated; the boys, among them Cadwallon and Cynfrig, sons of Owain Gwynedd, and Maredudd, son of Rhys of Deheubarth, were blinded and castrated; the girls had their ears and nostrils slit. [4] It was decided to retreat along the Dee to Chester, and there await a fleet which had been summoned to the king's help from Dublin. When the ships came, they were found insufficient and sent back; and the king in despair withdrew to England with the intention of commencing a new expedition at the following Easter.

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1. For this campaign see Brut. ad 1164=5; Ann. Camb. add 1166=5; William of Newburgh, lib. ii. cap. xviii.; Roger de Hoveden, i., 240, 245, 253; Robert de Monte, ad 1165; Gervasius Cantuar i., 197.—The Annals of Margam say :—"Intravit rex Henricus secundus in North-walliam parumque proficit."—The Annals of Osney and the Chron. of Thos. Wykes give modifications of William of Newburgh's version. They both call Owain Gwynedd, Howel (Hoellus, Howellus). They are, of course, late authorities [late xiii Cent.]—See also Gir. Camb. Op. vi., 138—143.

2. Brut. ad 1164=5; Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 143.

3. The three best MSS. of the Brut. y Tywysogion say :—"Ac yn gyflawn odiruawr lit y peris dallu y gwystlon a vuassei ygkarchar gantaw, yr ystalym o amser kyn no hynny. Nyt amgen deu uab Owein Gwyned Kadwallawn a Chynwric, a Maredud uab yr arglwyd Rys a rei ereill."—The Llyfr Du Basing adds :—a Howel—after Chynwric.—Cleopatra B. v. is evidently corrupt :—"Nyt amgen deu uab Owein vrenhin, Catwallawn, a Kynwric a Moredud meibion Rys a llawer or rei ereill."—The B. MS. of the Ann. Camb. says :—"obsides Walensium, quos potuit, oculis et testibus privavit."—The C. MS. :—"obsides eorum numero xxii. oculis et testibus privavit."—Roger de Hoveden says :—"Justitium fecit de filiis Ris, et de filiis ac filiabus nobilium ejus: scilicet oculos puerorum eruit, et nares auresque puellarum abscidit."

4. Brut. ad 1164=5; Ann. Camb. ad 1166=5; Epist. Owini ad Ludovic. vii.

The success of the campaign was of great result. [1] Historians on the Norman side have been curiously silent upon it; and the Englishman, William of Newburgh, who had devoted a whole chapter to the war of 1157, passes over that of 1165 in a few lines in which he endeavours to show that the king met with qualified success. It would be difficult, nay, almost impossible, had we but the Norman and English authorities to guide us, to gather that Henry's army suffered a decided repulse, and that henceforward his policy towards Wales changed and became as conciliatory as it had been provocative. The Welsh, too, had seen the princes of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth united against the foreigner, and the national feeling had been deeply stirred. Rhys ap Gruffudd, and even more than he, the aged Owain of Gwynedd, his uncle, had become the heroes of the national defence. From this time even to the day of her fall, Wales never lacked a leader against her foes, and it was not so much the legendary treachery of the Celt, as the numerical inferiority of her people and her dependance for supplies upon the very country with which she was at war, which hounded poor Wales to her doom, and deprived her of the independence she so long had cherished, and struggled for.

Hardly was the success of the campaign assured in the North, than Rhys ap Gruffudd threw himself once more upon the Norman nobles of South Wales, who had sympathized with Henry. [2] In the beginning of November, 1165, he attacked the Earl of Clare at Aberteifi; by the

1. Diceto and, after him, Matthew Paris do not mention it.—Gervase of Canterbury and Roger de Hoveden are very concise.

2. Brut. ad 1164=5 and 1171; Ann. Camb. ad 1166=5. It is not very clear from a comparison of the three passages whether Robert Fitz Stephen was captured at Aberteifi or Cilgerran. But Giraldus' testimony is decisive in favour of Aberteifi, Op. v., 229.

treachery of a monk called Rhygyfarch, he took the castle which he threw down and burnt; and Robert Fitz Stephen, one of the most powerful of Nest's sons, was made prisoner and kept in durance. Soon after Cilgerran castle fell. All Ceredigion was now in Rhys' hands. [1] There he founded, near the site of an older house, the great Cistercian monastery of Ystrad Fflur, or Strata Florida, which afterwards became famous for its wealth, and was the burial place of his own descendants for nearly a hundred years.

[2] His success, and the captivity of Fitz Stephen, determined the Fitz Geralds of Pembroke to a great effort against him in the following year, and with the Flemings of Rhos they marched on Cilgerran Castle and besieged it; they ravaged and slew in the neighbouring Ceredigion cwmwd of Iscoed and bore much booty away, but they failed to take the castle. In the same year, 1166, they made a second attempt on Cilgerran; but the king was now abroad, and Rhys had his forces in hand; and they met with a second defeat.

Owain's great character came out with prosperity. Knowing his weakness and fearing a renewal of war with Henry in the following year, [3] he turned to Louis VII of France for help in his danger, and attempted to come to a diplomatic understanding. Every means was necessary to

1. It has been denied that Rhys was the founder of Ystrad Fflur.—J. W. Willis-Bund looks upon the Clares as the true founders, but his chief argument rests on a chronological error.—North Ceredigion was reconquered from Roger de Clare by Rhys in 1164, not 1165, and Strata Florida or Ystrad Fflur was founded not in 1164, but in 1165.—For interesting articles on Ystrad Fflur, see the 5th series of Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. vi., pp. 5—23; vii, 1—30; they are by J. W. Willis-Bund and Stephen W. Williams.—See also the passage in Gir. Camb., iv., 152, where he seems to attribute foundation of Ystrad Fflur to Robert Fitz Stephen, and asserts that Rhys was the founder of only a small cell hard by. This is improbable.

2. Brut. ad 1165=6; Ann. Camb. ad 1167=6.

3. Epist. Owini ad Ludovic vii. apud script. rer. gallic. et francic., xvi., 117., quoted by Thierry, Histoire de la Conquête de l' Angleterre par les Normans.—See also Thos. Stephens' criticisms of the Afallenau in "Literature of the Kymry," pp. 212—223.—See the last verses of the poem in Myv. Arch. pp. 117—8.

combat an enemy whose dominions were more extensive than those of any prince of Western Europe. A Welsh monk was twice sent over with letters to France, in which Owain acknowledged himself Louis' vassal, informed him of his own success in war, begged the favour of his alliance, and promised to harass Henry in England if the French king would do so in Normandy. [1] In March, 1166, after fortifying the Welsh Marches, Henry was forced to cross to France and forego his projects of Welsh invasion; and he remained four years abroad. [2] Owain took full advantage of this, and before the year's end laid Henry's fortress at Basingwerk low.

[3] He also maintained a close alliance with Rhys ap Gruffudd. Owain Cyfeiliog and his cousin Owain Fychan, one of Madog's sons, had united in 1166 against their uncle Iorwerth Coch, and having expelled him from his territory in Mochnant, they divided it between them, Mochnant Uch Rhaiadr coming to Owain Cyfeiliog and Mochnant Is Rhaiadr to Owain Fychan. Owain Cyfeiliog had twice married; his first wife, Gwenllian, daughter of Owain Gwynedd, bore his son Gwenwynwyn; the second was a daughter of Rhys ap Gruffudd. He did not agree with his fathers-in-law; Rhys was especially hostile to him, and had twice before this harried his patrimony in Cyfeiliog. [4] In 1167 Owain Gwynedd, Cadwaladr and Rhys marched into South Powys and ousted Owain Cyfeiliog; they rebuilt the castle of Caereinion and gave the custody to Owain Fychan. [5] Then they assailed and took Tafalwern,

1. Robert de Monte ad 1166.
2. Brut. y Tywysogion ad 1165=6.
3. Brut. ad 1165=6.
4. Brut ad 1166=7; Ann. Camb. ad 1168=7.
5. The Cantref of Cyfeiliog was undoubtedly a part of Powys.

and it was handed over to Rhys with its Cantref, on the curious ground that it had formerly been part of his dominions. To England with his most faithful adherents Owain Cyfeiliog fled; [1] his uncle Iorwerth Coch forgot his wrongs and was ready to join him. With an army of Norman auxiliaries, the two princes appeared before the newly-erected castle of Caereinion; they demolished and burnt it and killed all the garrison.

[2] The last months of 1167 were spent by Owain Gwynedd, Cadwaladr and Rhys, in the siege and capture of the last Norman strongholds in North Wales, Prestatyn and Rhuddlan. Both were burnt. The great fortress of West Tegeingl was defended for three months before it fell. The joy of the Welsh was proportionate to the success; for Rhuddlan had ceased to be in Welsh hands for a century. And thus it came to pass that for the last three years of his life, Owain found himself undisputed master of North Wales, while his close alliance with the South, and the fortunate absence of Henry in France gave him great opportunity for consolidating his work.

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1. Iorwerth the Red probably recovered some, if not all, of his territory.—We hear no more of him henceforward, but he must have died before 1177, when his son, Madog, did homage to Henry II. at Oxford. [Gesta Benedicti, i., 162]. We have an elegy on his death by Cynddelw, in the Myvyrian Arch. p. 174. Some have supposed that under the title of Iorwerth-iawn, Cynddelw has celebrated the tribe of Iorwerth in his Gwelygorddeu Powys, Myv. Arch. p. 185.—Iorwerth Coch was a son of Maredudd ap Bleddyn by Efa, daughter of Bledrws ab Ednowain Bendew, one of the chiefs of the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd.—He is said to have married Maud, daughter of Roger de Manley, a Cheshire landowner; and such genealogical compilations as the Llyfr Silin published in the 5th series of the Archæologia Cambrensis attribute to him several sons:—Iorwerth Fychan, Madog, known as Madog Goch o Mawddwy, and Gruffudd Fychan, y Marchog Gwyllt o Gaer Howel, who lived at Edgerly in Salop. This Gruffudd is sometimes called Iorwerth's grandson through another Gruffudd.—Iorwerth's chief seat was at Mochnant.—He is mentioned in the introductory part of the Dream of Rhonabwy.—He is called Gerverd Coch in the Pipe Rolls ii. iii. iv., Henr. ii. p. 89.

2. Brut. ad 1166=7.—The only MS. that gives the name of Prestatyn is the oldest. [Hengwrt MS.; B. of Ab. Ithel.] Ann. Camb. ad 1168=7; neither of the MSS. mentions Prestatyn.—Rhuddlan was almost certainly in Norman hands from the days of the Conquest; the Castle was no doubt built circa 1071 by Robert of Rhuddlan.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STATE OF SOUTH EAST WALES DOWN TO 1170.

A Welsh reaction in Glamorgan and Gwent—Policy of Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff—The sons of Caradog ab Iestin—Death of Owain and Cadwallon, sons of Caradog—Glamorgan ruled by Morgan and Maredudd, the two surviving brothers—Norman influence over the Glamorgan chieftains—Their Welsh marriages—Their petty wars—Burning of Cynffig, 1167—The Normans in Gwent—Their fortresses—Wars between the Welsh of Gwent and the Earls of Hereford—Extinction of the House of Hereford—The growth of the power of the house of de Braose—Rhys ap Gruffudd's war in Brycheiniog—Extension of Rhys ap Gruffudd's influence over South and Central Wales.

IN South East Wales there was beginning a movement which might be described as a Welsh re-action, during the life of Earl William. This noble did but continue the work his father had begun, and [1] we find numerous confirmations by him of Robert's charters and grants. Some indications of this re-action are seen in what is known of the career of [2] Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff. [3] On several occasions he affirmed an independent policy in relation to Archbishops Theobald and Becket, which was evidence of his keeping to some of the spirit of the old Celtic Church. [4] We know that he renewed the quarrels

1. See chiefly the Liberties of Cardiff and Tewkesbury from Cotton MS. Cleopatra A vii f 101, printed in Clarke's Cart. and Munum, &c., Glam. iii., 78.

2. He is called in a valuable MS. of the Brut. y Tywysogion (B. of ab Ithel) ad 1147=8—escob Nicol uab Gwrgant escob. This with the form Worgan in the MS. of the Brut. called D by Ab Ithel (Cott. MS. Cleopatra B. 5) given ad 1104=7, and in the Brut. y Saeson, Myv. Arch. p. 679; and that of Gwrfau in the Gwentian Chronicle ad 1103; has induced Haddan and Stubbs to conjecture that Nicholas was the son of Bishop Urban. (Councils & Eccl. Doct. i).—The C. MS. of Ab Ithel calls him, Kadwgawn.—Le Neve, Fast. Eccl. Angl. ed Hardy, 1854, ii., 242, says that one Michael ap Gurgant is spoken of at present at the consecration of Thomas a Becket to the Archbishopric in 1162. [Probably from Herb. de Bosham, lib. iii., c. 4.] He is rightly referred to as Nicholaus Landavensis in Gerv. Cant. ad 1162.—See also Epist. Saresb. cxxx:—Causa difficilis inter Michaelen Landav episcopum et Robertum filium antecessoris sui.—Cf. also the M. Dei gratia Landavensis episcopus referring to Uchtryd in the agreement between the monks of Bassaleg and the Chaplain of St. Woolos at Newport in Cart. Monast. S. Petr. Glou. ii. 55.

3. Epist. G. Foliot xci in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, &c., i., 357.

4. Epist. G. Foliot. cxxxix; while Gilbert was Bishop of Hereford, i.e. between 1148 and 1163

with St. David's about the frontiers of the diocese which Urban had commenced and which lingered on till a much later period. [1] With the monasteries of the West of England he continued the course of action laid down by his predecessor Uchtryd; and confirmed his treaties with Tewkesbury and Gloucester.

Perhaps the scantiness of our knowledge of the general history of Glamorgan and Gwent, and in particular of the incidents which were the outward manifestations of the growth of Welsh feeling in the district is due to their separation during a great part of the 12th century from the rest of Wales. This isolation in its turn was the result largely of the enlightened sway of Robert of Gloucester over the former district, and it lasted almost throughout the lifetime of his son, William, in spite of the more short-sighted policy of that Earl. [2] Eventually Rhys ap Gruffudd succeeded in bringing them into his own range of influence.

[3] When Caradog ab Iestin died, his four sons divided his possessions. The influence of Norman custom, being stronger in Glamorgan than elsewhere, and the early death of two of the brothers, gave Morgan, the eldest, very soon a complete ascendency over the land. [4] Indeed, but soon after Caradog's death, the brothers quarrelled over their inheritance, and Cadwallon slew Owain. [5] But this deed brought him no good; an evil fortune dogged his steps; and while with his brothers he was engaged in the siege of a castle, he was killed outright by the collapse of the wall, alone of all the army.

1. Cart. Sti. Petr. Glouc. ii., 11—13; Cott. MS. Cleopatra A vii. ff 68 -9.
2. Probably between 1167 and 1175.
3. See App. No. 4.
4. For the story of Owain's greyhound, who was killed in the defence of his master, see Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 69.
5. Giraldus Cambrensis, Op. vi., 69.

[1] Morgan and Maredudd governed West Glamorgan till the end of the century. [2] They were great benefactors of the Norman foundations of Neath and Margam, and their descendants were buried there. Morgan's castle of Aberafan had been one of the earliest built by the Welsh; [3] a chartered borough was there established; and we have evidence of the prosperity of the district under its Welsh chiefs. They adopted the Norman armour and armorial bearings and numerous specimens of the charters and seals of Morgan ap Caradog remain.

But while the Welsh of West Glamorgan were more assimilated to Norman manners than any of their brethren, yet both they and their chieftains remained distinctly Welsh in spirit. [4] Caradog married Gwladus, daughter of Gruffudd ap Rhys of Deheubarth; and [5] Nest, the name of Maredudd's wife, sufficiently indicates her origin. They were often at war with their overlord, and raided his lands and those of his Norman subjects on the coast. [6] The castle of Cynffig was more than any open to their attacks; and on the night of St. Hilary, the 14th January, 1167, they burnt the borough town to the ground.

The rare evidence we have, seems to show that the Welsh principality of Sainghenydd in East Glamorgan was much less influenced by Norman example. Ifor Bach was the real organizer of this district, and, no doubt determined

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1. Morgan was still alive in 1208 and Maredudd in 1199.

2. See Clarke's Cartae et Munimenta de Glamorgan, pamim.

3. See for what follows Clarke's Cartae et Munim. de Glamorgan.

4. Brut. ad 1175.

5. For Nest, see:—Carta Moreduth de Hus[illegible]te et Heybote [Harl. Chant. 75, B. 28] in Clark's, Cart. et Munim. de Glam. i. 66.

6. Annals of Margam ad 1167.

much of its after policy. [1] He married Nest, a daughter of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, and by her had a son, Gruffudd, who succeeded him.

The history of Gwent is also obscure. [2] The men of the country had the reputation of being the most warlike of Wales; fond of exercises of strength and most skilled in the use of the bow. No doubt their geographical position contributed to the development of a martial character. The Normans held the coast, and the more open inland places. [3] Richard Strongbow was lord of Chepstow; the house of Monmouth held a considerable portion of the course of the Wye. [4] The sons of Miles of Hereford retained the castle of Abergafeni in their hands; and their position as overlords of Brycheiniog made them formidable. [5] The castle of Newport completed a quadrilateral of fortresses destined to keep the land in subjection. As in the other parts of South Wales where they obtained a strong footing, the Normans established religious houses; [6] and two abbeys and five priories here testified alike to their fervour and their policy.

Between such tightening bonds it appeared remarkable that two Welsh principalities should have survived. Gwent Uch Coed in the North, Gwent Is Coed in the South

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1. Brut. ad 1175. This Nest was still alive in 1193, as we know from a grant of Gruffudd ab Ivor of land at Leckwith to Margam in the time of Bishop H. [=Henry] of Llandaff. (Clark, Cart et Munim. de Glam. iii., 112—3).

2. Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 54, 177.

3. He is usually called by contemporaries, Earl of Striguil.—So Gesta Benedicti, Rad. de Diceto and Ann. of Margam.—The Brut. calls him ad 1171 :—Rickert iarll Terstig uab Gilbert vwa kadarn. Cleopatra B. 5 substitutes Stragbow for vwa kadarn.
Other MSS. of the Brut. used by the editors of the Myvyrian gave as variations for Terstig :—Trist. Strisling.—Richard was the iarll gwent of Seisyll Bryffwrch.—Striguil was probably a castle near Chepstow.

4. See Appendix No. 11.

5. Chepstow, Monmouth, Abergafeni, Newport.

6. See Gerv. Cant., Op. ii., 443.—Abbeys of Caerlleon and Tintern. Priories of Newport, Bassaleg, Goldcliff, Striguil (Chepstow), and Abergafeni.

defied conquest till the end of the thirteenth century. [1] The latter district had been governed since 1158 by Iorwerth ab Owain. His castle of Caerlleon was well situated for resistance to Norman advance up the Usk valley. [2] The town that surrounded it still contained many remains now lost of the magnificence of its Roman days; and in the popular mind it was connected with the early Christian martyrs and with the court of Arthur. [3] Iorwerth had married Angharad, a daughter of Bishop Uchtryd, and she had borne him two sons, Owain and Howel. Besides Gwent Is Coed, he held, probably on a precarious tenure, the extensive coast Cantref of Gwenllwg.

Seisyll ap Dyfnwal governed Gwent Uch Coed. This chieftain had twice married. [4] By his first wife, Angharad, daughter of Owain ap Caradog, and sister of Iorwerth of Gwent Is Coed, he had a son Morgan. [5] Some time before 1167 he married Gwladus, widow of Caradog ab Iestin of Aberafan, and thus connected himself with the powerful Rhys ap Gruffudd.

Between the Welsh lords of Gwent and the Norman lords of Brycheiniog, discord seems to have been continual. Miles of Gloucester left five sons by his wife, Mabel. [6] Walter, who succeeded Roger in 1155 was like all his brothers, a man of violent temper. [7] He commenced that series of disgraceful murders which made the castle of Abergafeni notorious. We are told that divine vengeance

1. Brut. ad 1157=8.
2. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 55—6, 101, 120, 169.
3. Brut. ad 1171, ed Ab Ithel, pp. 210—3.
4. Brut. ad 1171. Angharad is called Dudgu in C and D MSS. of Ab Ithel.
5. See Appendix No. 4.
6. For an account of Walter's Cruelty to Roger or Robert de Berkeley, in which he was abetted perhaps by Earl Roger, his brother, see the Gesta Stephani, edn. Bohn, pp. 417—8.
7. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 51, note 3.

on the criminal speedily followed. [1] He died without offspring, probably in 1158, and Henry, the third son, became lord of Abergafeni and Brycheiniog. He, too, must have irritated his Welsh subjects and neighbours, for he was slain by the chiefs of Gwent. His next-born brother, William, had died before him, and Mahel, the youngest of all, succeeded. His wildness of temper seems to have surpassed his brothers'; [2] he was engaged in violent quarrels with Bishop David Fitzgerald, in whose diocese his lands were; and he had not been a year in the possession of his inheritance when, while receiving hospitality from Walter Fitz Richard Clifford at Bronllys, the castle took fire and he was killed by a stone falling from the burning tower.

Contemporaries were struck by the fall of this great house, which seemed called to such influence in Wales and the West. Like his brothers, Mahel was childless, and his patrimony was divided. [3] His sister, Margaret, brought to Bohun the lands in Hereford. [4] Bertha made her husband, De Braose, master of Abergafeni Castle and Brycheiniog; and thus a house destined to a baneful influence on Central Wales obtained the foundation of its future power.

The date of Mahel's death and the transference of the lordship of Brycheiniog to the elder William de Braose is not known. [5] But the country probably changed hands before the end of the decade. [6] At any rate, in 1168, it was

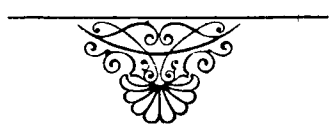
1. See the great Roll of the Pipe ii., iii., iv., Henr. ii.
2. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 29—31.—The castle of Bronllys was situated near the river Llyfni to the north of Talgarth. For a description of Bronllys Tower, see Clarke's Mediæval Military Architecture, I., 283.
3. Margaret was the elder daughter and brought to the Bohuns the bulk of the property [Hearne's Liber Niger] by her marriage with Humphrey iii. de Bohun.
4. Bertha had married William de Braose the First.
5. i.e., before 1170. William de Braose the younger had succeeded his father by 1175.
6. Ann. Camb. ad 1169=8.

invaded by the indefatigable Rhys ap Gruffudd with the whole army of Deheubarth. He suffered defeat, and his forces were driven into Ystrad Tywi; but angry at the repulse, he refused to consider it as final, and re-appeared in the same year at the head of a new army. This time he carried all before him. The land was ravaged with fire and sword; and [1] the castle of Buallt, so advantageously situated at the confluence of the Yrfon and the Wye, demolished. The king's justiciar, Richard de Luci, came to an arrangement with Rhys, who withdrew in triumph to Ystrad Tywi.

This campaign was probably the commencement of the establishment of Rhys' supremacy over the Welsh of Central Wales. This district had never ceased to be in a state of wild unrest The native princes were here not strong enough to turn out the Norman nobles, but were strong enough to cause incessant strife and tumult. [2] They weakened their own cause by war with each other, and terrible scenes of bloodshed were common. Cadwallon and Einion Clud were famous for their quarrels; [3] and the former is described as a prince panting for the blood of men. The rare records of events in this part of Wales invariably refers to deeds of violence; and the year 1170 saw two which have been handed down to us. [4] Einion Clud, lord of Elfael was wounded by Meilir and Ifor, sons of Llywarch ap Dyfnwal, and [5] Meurig ab Adam ap Seisyll

1. For a description of this castle see G. T. Clark's Mediæval Military Architecture, i., 304—8. The article contains several chronological mistakes.
2. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 19.
3. Radulph de Diceto.
4. This incident is mentioned in the Annales Cambriae only ad 1170=69.
5. Brut. ad 1169=70. Ann. Camb. gives it at 1170=69, but I am inclined to prefer the authority of the Brut.—Maredudd Bengoch possibly succeeded to Meurig in Buallt, for he is referred to in Llyfr Silin [5th series of Archæologia Cambrensis, viii. 212] as Maredudd Bengoch o Fuellt ap Llew ap Howell ap Seisyllt ap Llew ap Cadwgan ap Elystan Glodrudd, and we are told his daughter married Gruffudd ap Goronwy ap Gwyn.—He is, no doubt, the same as the Maredudd Frongoch ap Llyw. ap Howel ap Seisyllt ap Cadwgan ap Elystan Glodrudd, ap Llew being left out between "ap Seisyllt" and "ap Cadwgan."

of Buallt was treacherously slain in his sleep by Maredudd Bengoch, his cousin. It was a gain to peace when Rhys obtained a recognition of some kind of overlordship over these quarrelsome chieftains, and his hands were strengthened for it by an event which profoundly influenced the future of South Wales.



CHAPTER IX.

THE INVASION OF IRELAND, 1167—70.

Dyfed in 1167—Irish affairs; Diarmaid forced to flee to England—His intrigues with Richard Strongbow and the South Wales chiefs—Diarmaid, with a Welsh prince, returns to Ireland in August, 1167—Second expedition under Robert Fitz Stephen in 1169—Capture of Wexford—Third expedition under Maurice Fitz Gerald in summer of 1169—Fourth expedition in spring of 1170 under Raymond le Gros—Fifth expedition under Richard Strongbow in August, 1170—His marriage with Diarmaid's daughter—Capture of Dublin—Part of the Welsh in the invasion of Ireland—Influence on subsequent Welsh history of the Irish expeditions.

THE Norman landowners of Dyfed had never taken kindly to the soil. Their tenure was not settled enough to give them security. [1] While they often enjoyed alliance with, and aid from, the Flemings of Rhos, there were not wanting occasions in which they, too, became their enemies. The princes of Deheubarth were too powerful to be crushed; too restless and too warlike to leave their Norman foes in peace. So that although nearly eighty years had elapsed since they obtained a foothold in the land, they remained a turbulent nobility of the early Norman type, raiding their Welsh neighbours and, like them living on plunder.

But a change in their fortunes was to come. Westward from Dyfed lay Ireland given up to intestine broils since the day when Brian Boroimhe had shattered the traditional supremacy of the Ui Neill. To the position of Ardrigh the heads of the royal houses of each division of the country

1. See Gir. Camb., Op. i., 27; vi., 99, 100; concerning the bloody vengeance taken at Camros on the men of Rhos, for the slaying of Gerald Fitz William de Carreu or Carew, Temp. Kg. Stephen, i.e., 1135—1154.

all learnt to lay claim. [1] Two years before Henry II. succeeded to the English throne, the raid of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha into Breifne, had added a fresh cause to the many for continuous strife. He bore away in triumph Dearbhforgaill, wife of Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, chieftain of the country, a man whose position on the confines of Connacht and Uladh made him for nearly fifty years one of the most important of the Irish leaders. He vowed vengeance on the offender, and spent many years in conciliating the friendship of the princes of Connacht with a view to war on Diarmaid in Laighen. [2] The defeat and death of Muirchertach Ua Lochlainn in 1166 gave Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair an opportunity of recovering his position as Ard-righ, and one of his first acts was to unite with Tighearnan against Diarmaid. [3] The latter was not popular even in his own country of Laighen; [4] his castle and town of Ferns were burnt; [5] and on the 1st of August he fled over sea to Bristol.

Thence he hurried over to King Henry, who, [6] since Easter, had been in France, and finding him in Aquitaine succeeded in obtaining from him letters patent, allowing

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1. There are some reasons for doubting the usual story of the vengeance of Ua Ruairc. The chief actors in the drama were all over forty in 1152.—Diarmaid was probably born in 1110. [Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, ed Todd, p. xi., and cf. note 1 on that page]. Dearbhforgaill was eighty-five when she died in 1193 at the Abbey of Mellifont, and consequently forty-four in 1152.—Tighearnan Ua Ruairc first appears in the Chronicles in 1124, and then had a son.
   It seems improbable that it was a criminal passion which decided the rape of Dearbhforgaill, especially as the Ann. iv. Mag. say that she returned to Ua Ruairc in 1153.—It seems more probable that it was the harrying of his dominions that roused the hatred of Tighearnan, and that Diarmaid's violent and vengeful character [Gir. Camb., Op. v., 225, 237, &c.] gave it great impetus.

2. Ann. iv., Mag. ad 1166.

3. Gir. Camb, Op. v., 188, 225—6, 234, &c. See also Ann. iv., Mag. ad 1141, Ann. of Clonmacnoise, ad 1135.

4. He burnt the town himself.

5. Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, Text and Notes of Todd's Introduction, pp. xi., xii.—The Norman poem which its author asserts to be largely a transcription of information from Maurice Regan, Diarmaid's Latiner, says that Diarmaid remained with Robert Herdin=Robert Fitz Harding, in his foundation, the priory of St. Augustine's, Bristol. [Norman poem. ed. Michel, p. 12].

6. Robert de Monte, ad 1166.

any of his subjects to join the Irish prince in the recovery of his kingdom. [1] Diarmaid returned to Bristol early in 1167, and there in return for his daughter's hand and and succession to the throne of Leinster, obtained promise of assistance from Richard Strongbow, Earl of Striguil, [2] a nobleman who had lost his fortune, and does not seem at any time to have been in favour with the king. From Bristol Diarmaid went to South Wales. Here he met with ready offers of assistance. [3] Both Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth and Bishop David Fitz Gerald were soon gained to his cause, the former perhaps seeing the great advantage that would accrue to him by an emigration of the more Norman element to the Irish shores, the latter willing as usual, to aid his family's interests wherever even they clashed with his own. Diarmaid's promises did the rest. Eager to return he resolved to precede his wavering allies with what few he could immediately muster. [4] He set sail for Ireland in August, 1167, accompanied by a [5] Welsh prince, who must have been a near relation of Rhys himself, and by [6] Richard Fitz Godoberd, a Pembrokeshire knight, with a band of Norman and Welsh auxiliaries. [7] Hardly had he landed when Ruaidhri took the field against him, and defeated him in two battles. His Welsh ally was slain and Diarmaid forced to give hostages to the victory. [8] He did everything

1. Henry II. was in Aquitaine from Dec. 1166 to May, 1167. [Eyton, Itin. H. ii., pp. 103 - 6].
2. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 228; Norm. poem, ed Michel, p, 17.—For the state of his fortune see William of Newburgh, lib. ii., cap. 26; Gerv. Cant. i. 234.
3. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 228—9.
4. Circa Kalendas Augusti,—says Gir. Camb. Op. v., 229.
5. Ann. iv., Mag. ad 1167.
6. Norm. poem, ed. Michel, p. 21.
7. Ann. iv. Mag.
8. Regan's Irish name was Ua Riacain. The Norman French poem [Cotton MSS. Lambeth, 506] says he was the Latiner—interpreter and herald of Diarmaid mac Murchadha, and professes to derive its information from Ua Riacain's life of that king.

to gain time, and despatched Maurice Regan, a faithful adherent, to press the South Wales nobles to a fulfilment of their promises. [1] A year went by. At Diarmaid's instigation, [2] and at that of Bishop David and Maurice Fitz Gerald, Rhys consented early in 1169 to liberate Robert Fitz Stephen, who had been three years in prison, but only on condition that he should bear arms with him against the king of England. He was, however, induced to change this condition, and allow Robert to lead a second expedition to the help of Diarmaid.

The latter's promise of large grants of land near Wexford had the desired effect. [3] Robert bestirred himself and gathered a force of thirty knights, sixty men at arms and three hundred picked Welsh troops. His near kinsmen, [4] Meilir Fitz Henry, Robert de Barri, and Miles Fitz David accompanied him, and at the beginning of May, 1169, he was in Ireland, and was there joined, one day after his own arrival, by [5] Maurice de Prendergast at the head of ten knights and many archers, chiefly Flemings from Rhos and its port of Milford. [6] Diarmaid and his son, Domhnall Kavanagh, hastened to join their allies with five hundred Irish. [7] Together they took Wexford; and the

1. See Kate Norgate's arguments for putting the invasion of Fitz Stephen down to 1168, not 1169, in England under the Angevin kings, ii., 101, note 4. The Welsh evidence is entirely in favour of 1169.—Giraldus (Op. v., 229) says :—"La tempestate Robertus filius Stephani, qui apud Aberteivi, Kereticae regionis caput, cui tunc praerat, dolo suorum captus fuerat, et Resi traditus, jam jamque per triennium in vinculis et carcere tentus. . . . . ."—Now Robert was taken prisoner about the beginning of November, 1165 [Brut. ad 1164 5; Ann. Camb. ad 1165 5.]—His liberation is put down to 1168=9 by the Brut., to 1170 69 by the Ann. Camb.—If he was liberated at the beginning of 1169 he would have been just three years in prison. The statement in the Ann. Camb. is as follows :—"Robert filius Stephani a carcere Resi precatu Diermit filii Murchath Hiberniam intravit, etc. . . ."—Everything points to May, 1169, as the date of Fitz Stephen's Irish expedition.

2. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 229; Brut. ad 1168=9; Ann. Camb. ad 1170=69.

3. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 230.

4. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 234—5; Norman poem, ed Michel p. 22.

5. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 232; also Norman poem.—See article on Maurice de Prendergast, by John P. Prendergast in Journal of Kilkenny Archæological Society.

6. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 231.

Gir. Camb., Op. v., 232—3; Norman poem, ed. Michel, pp. 24—5.

town and its adjoining territory were given to Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald according to the terms of the treaty. [1] Two hundreds between Wexford and Waterford were handed over to Hervé de Montmaurice. [2] The allies, after three weeks of joyous revelry at Ferns, marched into Osraighe, to punish its chieftain, Donnchadh, for the murder of Diarmaid's son, Enna, in the previous year. After a bloody battle, victory declared for the invaders; and to Diarmaid, the prince of Osraighe made a feigned submission. But it was only feigned. [3] At the news of his enemy's successes, Ruaidhri of Connacht summoned all Ireland against him, and Diarmaid was reduced to find in Fitz Stephen's immediate followers his only hope. Strongly fortifying Ferns, they awaited Ruaidhri's approach. [4] The latter was induced to make peace. Diarmaid was to have Laighen, and to give his son, Conchobhar, as a hostage for his good faith.

[5] Such was the situation when Maurice Fitz Gerald arrived with two ships and landed at Wexford with a hundred and forty followers. This third invasion took place late in the summer of 1169. It caused an immediate renewal of the war between Ruaidhri and Diarmaid, who now began to aspire to the monarchy of the island. While Fitz Stephen fortified Carrick, near Wexford, [6] Maurice accompanied the King of Laighen to an attack on Dublin. [7] Early in 1170, war broke out between Ruaidhri of Connacht and Domhnall, son of Toirrdhealbach Ua Briain.

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1. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 233.
2. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 233—5. For much fuller details of expeditions into Osraighe, the territory of the Ui Failghe and to Glenn-da-locha, see the Norman poem, ed. Michel, pp. 27—51.
3. Ann. iv. Mag. ad 1160.
4. Gir. Camb. Op. v. 243—4.
5. Gir. Camb. Op. v., 244—5.
6. Gir. Camb. Op. v. 245.
7. Gir. Camb. Op. v. 245; Ann. iv. Mag. ad 1170. Domhnall Ua Briain was a son-in-law of Diarmaid

Diarmaid despatched a force under Fitz Stephen to the aid of the latter; and after several engagements, Ruaidhri withdrew without success to Connacht, while Domhnall definitely threw over his allegiance.

[1] Diarmaid's ambitious plans led him to urge the Earl of Striguil to a fulfilment of his promises. A fourth expedition from the Welsh coast came late in the spring, commanded by Raymond Le Gros, son of [2] William Fitz Gerald, and disembarking a few miles from Waterford, near the [3] rock of Dundunnolf, with ten knights and seventy archers, he at once entrenched himself there. He was very soon besieged by the citizens of Waterford, and with them [4] Maelseachlainn Ua Faclain, lord of the Deisi. The attack was vigorously repulsed and [5] seventy of the citizens taken. Raymond, however, was not able to take the offensive until the arrival of Strongbow.

That Earl had probably been preparing for his Irish attempt very carefully for four years. The turn of events was favourable to his schemes. [6] He had obtained from Henry a qualified permission to go to the assistance of Diarmaid, and had determined to interpret this as he saw fit. The success of the first adventurers encouraged his efforts, and at last his own expedition, the fifth that had left the Welsh shores, [7] landed at Waterford from Milford

1. He offered his daughter, a c. to Giraldus, in marriage to both Maurice Fitz Gerald and Robert Fitz Stephen, who were both married. (Op. v. 240).

2. William was probably dead. He is last heard of in 1153 when Tenby Castle was put into his hands. [Brut. ad 1152=3].

3. For site of Dundunnolf see Gir. Camb., Op. v., pp. 420—1.

4. He is called in the Norman poem, ed. Michel, Del Deys Dowenald Osfelan. One Dohmnall Ua Faelain died in 1205 [A. iv. M.] See Gir. Camb., Op. v., 240.

5. Gir. Camb., Op. v. 252—3. Hervé de Montmaurice spoke for, Raymond Le Gros against their execution. The advice of the former was followed.

6. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 246—7.

7. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 254; Norman poem, ed. Michel, pp. 68—72.—Waterford was taken on the 25th of August.

on the 23rd of August. 1170. It consisted of two hundred knights and a thousand infantry. This strong reinforcement enabled Raymond le Gros to prosecute the siege of Waterford with vigour and [1] it was taken with great slaughter.

[2] The capture was immediately followed by Richard's marriage with Eva, Diarmaid's daughter. The festivities over, the King of Laighen, gathering together all his Norman and Welsh auxiliaries, marched on Dublin, [3] and escaping the large army which Ruaidhri had gathered together to oppose him, appeared before the city on the 21st of September.

An attempt was made by Archbishop [4] Laurence O'Toole to bring about a peace. While the negotiations were proceeding, [5] Milo de Cogan and Raymond le Gros made a vigorous attack upon the city. It was successful. With their leader, [6] Asculf, son of Raghnall mac Torcaill, the better part of the population fled. Richard remained a few days in Dublin; [7] then leaving it to the defence of Milo de Cogan, he made, at the instigation of Diarmaid, a raid into the territories of Ua Ruairc in Midhe. Ruaidhri, indignant at Diarmaid's determination to conquer Ireland

1. Gir Camb., Op. v., 255; Norman poem, ed. Michel, p. 72; Ann. iv., Mag. ad 1170.

2. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 255; Norman poem, ed. Michel, p. 73; A. iv. M. ad 1170. Richard had a daughter, Alina, by a first marriage; and, perhaps, a son [A. iv. Mag. 1171] the Walter filii Ricardi filii Gilberti Strongbowe avi mei—of a Tintern charter of William Marshal, dated Strigul, 22nd March, 1206. [Dugd. Mon. v. 267.]

3. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 255–6; Norman poem, ed Michel, pp. 75–8; A. iv. M. ad 1170.

4. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 256.—Lorcan Ua Tuathail became Archbishop of Dublin on the death of its last bishop in 1162; he died at Eu in the Seine Inferieure on the 14th of Nov., 1180. [Ann. iv. M. ad 1162, 1167, 1180.]—He was canonized in 1226 by Pope Honorius iii.—See Vita Sancti Laurentii in Messingham's Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum, Paris, 1624.

5. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 256–7; Norman poem, ed. Michel, pp. 79, 82.

6. Hasculphus in Giraldus, Op. v., 257; Hasculf and Mac Turkil Esculf in Norman poem, ed. Michel, pp. 79, 80; Asgall, son of Raghnall mac Torcaill in Ann. v Mag.; Axoll mac Torcaill in Ann. Loch. Ce ad 1171.

7. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 257; Norman poem, ed. Michel, p. 82.

for himself, put his three hostages to death. [1] Earl Richard retired to Waterford, whence he made war on Cormac Ua Carthaigh and suffered defeat at his hands. [2] Diarmaid spent his time in making incursions from Ferns into Ua Ruairc's lands in Midhe and Breifne.

And so the year 1170 ended. [3] And such were the elements of the situation which was made known to Henry who had come from France in March. [4] Startled at the success of the Earl, he affected great displeasure, and sent immediate orders to all his subjects to return. It was evidently necessary to propitiate him, and [5] Richard made Raymond le Gros his envoy with orders to lay all his conquests at his master's feet. Henry accepted the solution and prepared to visit his new domain.

The five expeditions which preceded the landing of Henry II. in Ireland were due entirely to Norman French and Welsh enterprise. The troops that were employed consisted of Norman knights from Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan, warlike Flemish settlers from the cwmwd of Gwyr and the Cantref of Rhos, and picked Welsh soldiers. [6] The present names of the inhabitants of the land acquired by Fitz Stephen near Wexford testify to the origin of those he brought with him, [7] and even the Dublin Roll of names

1. Ann. iv. M.; Norman poem, ed. Michel, p. 82. 2. Ann. iv. M.; Norman poem, ed. Michel, p. 83
3. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi; Roger de Hoveden; Gerv. Cant.
4. See Wm. of Newburgh, lib. ii., cap. 26. 5. Gir. Camb., Op. v., 259.
6. The names Fleming, Furlong, Wadding, Prendergast, Barry, Walsh are common.
7. Hist. and Mun. Docts. Ireland, 1172–1320, pp. 3–48. The list is a hodge-podge of all kinds of names, French, English, Welsh, Irish, Latin.—The same word is spelt in a variety of ways. Cynffig, ex. g., appears in the following names: Tomas Kenfeg, Walmerr de Chenetec, Wasmeris de Kenfech, Willielmus de Kenefec, &c. So far as they can be classified the names may be divided into four groups:—

(*a*) Those that suggest Welsh origin:—Oliverus le Waleis, Edwinus Walensis, Walterus filius Griffini, Cradoc de Lein, Walterus Griffin, &c.

(*b*) Those that suggest Flemish origin:—Henricus Flandrensis, Gilbertus Flamang, Ricardus filius Iordani de Hauarfurd, Robertus de Guer, &c.

(*c*) Those referring to towns in South Wales:—Adam de Cardigan, Phillipus de Carmathin, Elias de Ketweli, Godefridus de Swei tesea, Johanes de Cardif, Edwacar de Niuport, Harold de Munemue, Gilibertus de Striguil, Johannes de Sancto Briauel, Turold de Chepstowa, Arnoldus de Brecunia, Ourei de Fissegard, Durant de Pembroc, &c.

(*d*) Those referring to places in Welsh Marches, West of England and Cornwall:—Vincentius Cestrie, Hugo de Scropasburi, Osbertus de Herefort, Willielmus de Ludelaue, Ricardus filius Salomonis de Bristollo, Moriz de Bardastapla Willielmus de Bodmin, Rodbertus le Cornwalleis, &c.

shows a very distinct preponderance of the same elements. Richard de Clare and his uncle, Hervé de Montmaurice, were Normans of ruined fortunes, who went to repair them, like true Normans, with their sword, but with the exception of these nobles, the leaders of the movement were drawn from that nobility of Dyfed, in whose veins Norman blood mingled with the Welsh, and who looked to Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr as to a [1] common ancestor. One after another the Fitz Geralds, the Fitz Stephens, the Fitz Henrys left their Pembroke lands, and in the neighbouring isle set to work to carve out new and wider provinces for themselves. These descendants of Nest went chiefly from a love of adventure and plunder, in a land which promised to give them greater opportunity for both, than their old quarters in Dyfed, where the Welsh, by long experience, had learnt their tactics. [2] In a few years all the chief of them had passed away from Wales and dwelt in another land.

Rhys had now recovered all the power he had inherited from his brother, Maredudd, shaken as it had been by successive invasions from England and continuous wars with the Cliffords and Clares. He supported the Irish invasions, hoping to still further weaken the Normans; and

1. That the family must have been subject to much Welsh influence is seen from their names. Of Nest's own children, Anghared married Will. de Barri; another daughter was called Gwladus; a son, Howel [Gir. Camb., Op. i., 59]. William Fitz Gerald had a son Gruffudd; and a grandson referred to by Giraldus as:—Reimundi nepos David, agnomine Walensis non cognomine, natione Kambrensis, non cognatione [Op. v., 321].—Maurice Fitz Gerald had a daughter Nest; Robert Fitz Stephen an illegitimate son, Maredudd.—Last but not least in importance is the name of Meilir Fitz Henry.—

2. See the interesting verse in the Hoianau (No. 4), Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, f. 27 b:-

Oian a parchellan oet reit gweti
Rac offin pimp penaeth o nortmandi
Ar pimhed in myned dros mor heli
Y oreskin iwerton tirion trewi, etc.

The spelling, &c., is very modernized in the rendering in Myv. Arch., p. 106.—Thos. Stephens (Lit. of the K., pp. 241-2) thought the five nobles were Robert Fitz Stephen, Maurice Fitz Gerald, Hervé de Montmaurice, David de Barri and Richard de Clare. I think it much more probable that the reference is to the Norman leaders of the five successive expeditions from Wales to Ireland.

to some extent he succeeded; for the Welsh, the immediate result was good; but it must not be forgotten that it was Richard's Irish conquests which laid the foundation of the immense power of the Marshals who inherited by marriage the lands of the last Strongbow. Richard never succeeded in holding Pembroke; but the Marshals asserted and made good their claims and eventually became the most extensive landowners in South Wales.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY DOWN TO 1170, AND DEATH OF OWAIN GWYNEDD.

Bishop David of St. David's—His Welsh manners—His nepotism—Absenteeism in the Bishopric of St. Asaph—Richard succeeds Geoffrey of Monmouth—Godfrey, successor of Richard, forced to flee—His difficulties with Archbishop Thomas a Becket—Bishop Meurig at Bangor—His death—Long ecclesiastical conflict between Owain and Becket—Interference of Pope Alexander III.—Becket desires Owain to put aside his wife, Chrisiant—Owain refuses—Excommunication of Owain—His death in November, 1170—His character.

WHILE his kinsmen were thus fighting new battles, [1] Bishop David was chiefly engaged in alienating the lands of his see in spite of the vigorous opposition of his Welsh clergy. [2] The national party, unable to obtain the bishopric for a nominee of its own, had secured, probably on David's succession to the see, the Archdeaconry of Ceredigion for Cedifor, son of Daniel, but if they founded any hopes on this last member of the great Sulien's family, they were dashed to the ground by his death in 1163.

To some extent David adopted the manners and customs of the Welsh bishops, [3] for like them he had daughters and sons. One daughter he gave in marriage to Walter, son of the Gwys who had built Wiston Castle; and with her a quit-claim to land near Llanhuadein, for which Gwys himself had suffered excommunication. He similarly endowed another daughter with land at Broghes and Tre-

1. See the Vita Davidis in Gir. Camb., Op. 2. See Brut. ad 1162=3.

3. See the Vita Davidis, ii. Episcopi Menevensis, said to be by a Canon of St. David's and published in the Rolls Series among Giraldus Works, iii., 432-4.—According to this life he had at least two daughters. Milo Menevensis of Giraldus (Op. v. 395-6) is plausibly identified by Dimock with Regan's [Norman poem] Milis . . . . . le fiz l'evesque de Sein Davi. See Appendix B to preface to vol. v. of Giraldus' Works, note 3.

fennen ; and gave Castell Cennen to another near relation, Arnald Ddu. But his brother, Maurice, was his especial favourite. He made him seneschal of the episcopal lands, gave him St. Dogmael's and the land of Ieuan ap Seisyll, together with fees at Llanrian and Archbold. He induced tenants of the bishop to do homage to Maurice for their lands. The clergy of the diocese strenuously resisted. [1] And David, when in 1164 Archbishop Thomas was driven into exile, thinking himself free from control, did not hesitate to steal the common seal of the Chapter ; and thus deprived its members of their only means of successful opposition.

Nor had the Bishopric of St. Asaph been very fortunate in its bishops. Gilbert and Geoffrey do not seem to have visited their dioceses. [2] When the latter died, he was succeeded by Richard, of whom we know nothing, and who was probably a Norman absentee. [3] Godfrey, who succeeded Richard, did as his predecessors had done. His character seems to have been exacting, and he was accused of nepotism. At any rate, he did not agree with his Welsh clergy, and very soon fled the see. [4] As early as 1165, Thomas wrote to him, insisting that he should return. But the Archbishop was in exile ; [5] Henry showed himself on the other hand inclined to help Godfrey, and at

1. Gir. Camb., Op. iii., 442.—Thomas reached France at the beginning of November, 1164.—Materials for the Hist. of Archb. Becket i., 40—3 ; iii., 70—1, 316—26 ; iv., 54—8, 105—6, 19[illegible].

2. Gervasius Cantuar, ii., 385.—There is no authority that I know of for the date 1154 given by Haddan and Stubbs. Geoffrey died in 1155 [Brut. ad 1154=5], and Richard became bishop in that or the following year.

3. Gerv. Cant. ii. 385.—The date of his consecration is not known. He was present on the 3rd June, 1162, at Becket's consecration [Gerv. Cant. i., 171].—Godfrey was consecrated Bishop by Theobald, who died in April, 1161.—

For Godfrey's character, see Historia Monasterii de Abingdon, p. 293.—References to him in Materials for the Hist. of Archbishop Becket, i. 213, ii. 245.

4. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Docts., i., 302.

5. Historia Monasterii de Abingdon, pp. 234—5, 293.

the end of October of the same year, appointed him Administrator of Abingdon Abbey, on the death of its titular Wulkelin ; [1] and the bishop, not caring for a visit to St. Asaph now in the hands of Owain Gwynedd, a fact which shows the hostility of his Welsh flock to him, threw himself into the king's party. [2] He spent his time chiefly in the consecration of churches and church altars in England. [3] In 1166 he drew on himself the wrath of Becket by absolving the nobles excommunicated by the Archbishop at Vezelai. [4] The latter insisted that he should go to his diocese or resign. But Thomas was still in exile, and affairs in North Wales had taken a turn very unfavourable to Norman interests. Indeed, had he followed nothing but the dictates of ordinary prudence, Godfrey would have hesitated to return to St. Asaph, while Owain was carrying on his long struggle for the independence of the native Church.

We know nothing of the events which may have followed the installation of Bishop Meurug at Bangor, but his episcopate was long. He governed the see twenty-one years, a period completely barren of events concerning the Church in his own see. [5] The great Archdeacon of Gwynedd, Simeon, died in 1152 ; but his party did not die with him, and the fruit of his efforts was seen when, nine years later, [6] Meurug followed him to the tomb.

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1. Owain must have held St. Asaph as early as 1165, if not earlier.
2. Matt. Paris ad 1165 ; Margin of a MS. of Diceto, Reg. 13 E. 6., f. 59 b.
3. Diceto, ad 1166.
4. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, &c., i., 363—4.
5. Symeon is the reading of the Hengwrt MS. (B. of Ab Ithel) and of Cleopatra B. 5. Ab Ithel's A & C MSS. give Simon, and the E MS. [Llyfr Du Basing] Einion. A.B.C. call him Archdiagon Keueilawc ; Cleopatra B. 5 [D] and Llyfr Du Basing [E] Archdiagon Kelynnawc.—See Rolls Ed. of Brut ad 1151=2.—The Gwentian Chronicle as usual adopts the readings of the later MSS., ad 1151.
6. Brut ad 1161=2. From the Brut it would seem that he died in 1162.—He was dead at the time of Becket's consecration. If we admit that he died on the 12th of August [Kalend. S. Petr. Salop. MS. Cott. Vitel. A. viii], it must have been in 1161, as Becket became Archbishop on the 3rd June, 1162.

In the same year as Meurug, [1] Theobald died, and on the 3rd of June, 1162, [2] Thomas a Becket was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in his stead by Henry, Bishop of Winchester. Among the many bishops who graced the ceremony were Gilbert of Hereford, Godfrey of St. Asaph, David Fitz Gerald of St. David's, and Nicholas ap Gwrgant of Llandaff. The new metropolitan showed vigour in everything he undertook. He found the see of Bangor vacant, and, no doubt, attempted to installate a successor to Meurig. But the time was ill-chosen. Owain was just preparing that revolt against Henry's authority, which was eventually crowned with so much success. He had been baffled in his first attempt to remove Bangor from Norman ecclesiastical influence, but he was resolved this time to resist to the end. No bishop was to be appointed without his consent, and no allegiance was to be sworn to Canterbury. Circumstances favoured the national cause. [3] In 1164 Becket was driven into exile, and this was taken advantage of by Owain. [4] He proposed the consecration to Bangor of a bishop by another than the Archbishop of Canterbury, but professing obedience to the latter. This, however, he declared to be a grant of his own free will, and denied that Canterbury had any right thereto. The proposition was indignantly rejected by Becket, who reasserted the subjection of Bangor to himself, and promised to send a messenger to Owain to treat of the difficulties in

1. In April, 1161.

2. Gerv. Cant. ; Materials for History of Becket, i. 9 ; iii. 35—6, 180—5 ; iv. 18—19, 84 seq., 154.

3. See the authorities referred to in a preceding note.

4. Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket in Rolls Series, Vol. v. p. 229. On p. 230 is Becket's letter of refusal. For an attempt at dating the letters on the Bangor controversy, see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, &c.

the way of a settlement. [1] He appointed Archdeacon Dafydd of Bangor the administrator of the see, no doubt with the design of making him the head of those who favoured Canterbury's claims. [2] Arthur, a priest who acted as the leader of the national party in the church, with others, Iago, Uchtryd, Lorans, was in favour of an Irish metropolitan as less dangerous to Welsh liberties, and openly advocated consecration of the Welsh bishops and clergy by such. [3] Becket applied to Pope Alexander III. to bring his authority to bear, [4] and meanwhile summoned Arthur and his supporters to appear before him to answer charges of disobedience and disloyalty. [5] On the 10th of December, 1165, the Pope wrote to the clergy of Bangor to elect a bishop within two months. [6] On the 9th of February, 1166, he wrote again to the same effect, at the same time bidding Thomas, in case they refused, to provide a bishop himself. But the triumphs of Owain in the field had influenced the question and the prince felt himself strong enough to continue his resistance. [7] Archdeacon Dafydd, too, had joined the national party and solicited consecration from Ireland for a nominee of Owain. [8] He was himself a true ecclesiastic of the Celtic Church and had married. [9] Becket, furious at his defection, wrote summoning him, with his son and three or four of the Church

1. Materials, &c., v. 228.
2. Materials, &c., v. 230–1. His name is variously rendered by the MSS. de Chargan, de Chargis, de Kargan, de Bargis, de Burgis.—It has been suggested that he is to be identified with Arthur de Hardsey, whom Brown Willis asserts to have been Dean of Bangor in 1102. He does not give his authority.
3. Extract from letter of Becket to Alexander III. in Haddan & Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Docts. i. 367.
4. Materials, &c., v. 231–2.
5. Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket (Rolls Series) v. 225–6.
6. Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket, v. 226–8.
7. Materials, &c., v. 235–6.
8. At least he had a son.
9. Materials, &c., v. 235–6.

magnates of his see, to appear before him. [1] Dafydd replied that his action was due to compulsion from Owain, who had extorted the promise that no bishop should be elected against his will. The Archbishop absolved him and the Bangor canons from their oath, and demanded the election of his own nominee. So matters dragged on. Another attempt of Becket's to provide a bishop within a delay of four months, failed. It is difficult to say whether there was a connection between the ecclesiastical troubles of the time, and [2] the murder, in 1168, of Abbot Gwrgenau, and his nephew, Llawdden, by Owain's son, Cynan. But trouble there was, and the Pope waxed indignant at this long vacancy of the North Welsh sees. [3] On the 9th of October, 1168, he wrote to Henry, urging him to fill both St. Asaph and Bangor without further delay. [4] At the same time he urged Becket to proceed to vigorous measures against Owain Gwynedd and Archdeacon Dafydd. [5] The marriage of the former with his cousin Chrisiant was brought up against him. There was hardly a Welsh chief who had not committed the same offence; and it was hoped that by striking at Owain, the blow would fall on all, and a national failing be extirpated. The prince was ordered to put his wife aside. He absolutely refused, publicly seized the

1. Materials, &c., v. 234.

2. Brut. ad 1167 = 9. Curiously the MS. of the Brut in Llyfr Coch o Hergest says the murder was committed by Cynan *and* Owain Gwynedd. But all the other MSS. say Cynan, *son* of Owain.

3. Extract from letter of Alexander III. to Henry II. in Haddan & Stubbs, Councils & Eccl. Docts. i, 71

4. Materials, &c, v. 239.

5. What we know of Christiana or Chrisiant is derived from :—

   (*a*) Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 133—4.—From this passage we learn that the marriage with Chrisiant was the ground for excommunication, and that Dafydd and Rhodri were sons by her.

   (*b*) Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket. vol. v., pp. 236—9.

   (*c*) Awdyl. Nis Gwyddis pwy a'i Cant., but probably by Peryf ap Cedifor—Myv. Arch. p. 280 She is here called Cristin, and some part in the murder of Howel seems to be attributed to her.

   (*d*) Welsh Books of Pedigrees.

Pope's letters and caused the messenger to be forcibly detained. This display of vigour had the desired effect. The Archbishop's last letters showed his sentiment of Owain's power; the haughty champion of the Church even condescended to flatter the victorious prince; he reminded him, not as at first of the ecclesiastical punishments he would hurl at his head in case of refusal, but [1] rather of his age and approaching death. He implored him to put aside his wife, and provide for her fully from [2] his own revenues. But Owain could not be moved. Then Becket, angry perhaps that for a moment he should have yielded one inch from what he thought his righteous demands, [3] pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the King of Gwynedd. But the sentence was null. Within his own dominions Owain's will was law. He was held to be fighting for his people, for their customs, for their Church. The clergy of the see, Dafydd the Archdeacon, all were bound to his cause. No foreigner held an inch of land in his kingdom. [4] The Angevin monarch was too far to seriously menace. And so it came to pass that Owain obtained a second victory over the Norman element, and that the last years of his life saw a triumph over the Archbishop of Canterbury, hardly less important than had been his repulse of the king of England, when from Berwyn's heights that king's hosts fell back along the Dee to Chester.

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1. Juvenes cito moriuntur et facile, sed impossible est ut qui senes sunt diu vivunt . . . Materials, &c. v.

2 Si cognatum tuam diligis, abundas opibus, quibus ei poteris utiliter et honeste providere. . . . . Materials, &c., v.

3 Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 133.

4. Henry returned from France after four years absence in March, 1170.

He was now old. [1] His mother, Angharad, had died in 1162 after surviving her husband, Gruffudd, a quarter of a century. [2] In 1165 her death was followed by that of Llywelyn, one of Owain's most brilliant sons, whose bravery and wisdom were conspicuous. Owain himself could not last much longer. [3] In November, 1170, he expired, after reigning thirty-three years over North Wales. He was the excommunicate of Canterbury; but he had freed his own Church from slavery, and she took him to her bosom; and after making confession of his sins, he received the communion of the body of Christ and extreme unction; and [4] in the cathedral of Bangor, where already rested the ashes of his father, was buried with becoming pomp.

It is not easy to judge a king. His contemporaries are too near to read aright; and posterity too remote to deal him justice. While the men of his own time are interested in the motives, it is rather by the results of his actions that their descendants allow their decisions to be governed. But Owain Gwynedd had all the characteristics of a great ruler. [5] He was a brilliant soldier, and there is no record of his having been defeated in battle. [6] He was a sagacious diplomat, and knew well how, by negotiation, to gather together all his resources in the hour of danger, and to conciliate the opposing interests of the many chiefs against a common foe. [7] He was a prudent governor, working for his people. His policy was one of peace

1. Brut ad 1161=2.—See Hanes Gruffudd in Myv. Arch. p. 730, where the biographer gives a description of her person; and a list of her children:—three sons, Cadwallon, Owain, Cadwaladr; five daughters, Gwenllian, Maryred or Marred, Ranillt, Susanna, and Annest or Nest.—Angharad must have died at a great age; we know that her daughter, Gwenllian, had a son by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn before 1111, the date of Cadwgan's death [Brut.]
2. Brut ad 1164=5. 3. See Appendix No. 3. 4. Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 133.
5. The Hengwrt MS. of the Brut. [B. of ab Ithel] says ad 1169=70.—ynn anoruodedic oe uebyt
6. Gwr anueidrawl y brudder—says the Brut ad 1169=70.— 7. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 143—5

within and union with Deheubarth without, and its success is well seen in the fact that outsiders looked upon him as [1] king of all Wales, as the prince of the whole Welsh people. [2] He was the greatest patron of the bards, and thus, like all the members of his family, identified himself with the encouragement of purity of language and excellence of literature. And more than any, these champions of the national cause mourned his loss; and something of their grief is seen in the impassioned references of Gwalchmai, in the elegies of Daniel ap Llosgwrn Mew, Seisyll Bryffwrch and Cynddelw. The succeeding generation called him [3] the Great; either in memory of his mighty deeds, or startled by the contrast his single fame presented to the comparative nonentity of his many sons.

There is a tendency to forget the great men of a conquered race. They are judged by the failure of their aims, once independence, that boon of peoples, is lost. They toiled indeed in the heat of the day; they seemed to live but for their country's weal; they fought and died in its defence; but of what avail was it all, when the day of doom came, and that which they had laboured to preserve was lost for ever?

1. He is usually called—tywyssawc Gwyned—in the Brut, though on one occasion ad 1149=50—Owein vrenhin Gwyned.—The Ann. Camb. say in one case—princeps Nortwalliae, in another—rex Nortwalliae ad 1171.—The Ann. Marg. ad 1157 speak of him as Oweyn de Wallia.—Robert de Monte calls him Oenus rex ad 1171.—Becket in his letters, Rex Walliae, princeps Wallensium.—Owain in a letter to Becket calls himself Walliarum rex: in a letter to Bernard rex Waliae.—Giraldus calls him princeps Norwalliae (Op. iii. 188.), vi. 134.

2 See all the bardic writings of the time, and especially Gwalchmai's awdl to Dafydd ab Owain, in Myv. Arch., p. 146.

3. Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 143. Oenus magnus.

APPENDIX No. I.

The Brut y Tywysogion was published in the Rolls Series in 1860. It was edited by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel. The MS. which he took as the basis of his work and which he collated with several others, is a part of the Red Book of Hergest at Jesus College. It has been published separately in the Myvyrian Archaeology, pp. 602—651; and quite recently in a palaeographical edition by Rhys & Evans.

The more one becomes familiar with this Chronicle, the more is one impressed by its correctness and accuracy throughout; and as in no edition has an attempt been made to rectify the Chronology of the document, it becomes necessary to establish it at any rate, for our period, on a sound basis.

The events recorded under the dates 1134—1169 inclusive are really a year behind, and belong to 1135—1170. A few cases—in which we know the date of the event in question—will clearly show this:—

1134	of Rolls Edition	Henry I. died 1st Dec., 1135. [Ord. Vital; Ang. Sax. Chr.]
1135	,,	Richard Fitz Gilbert killed 15th April, 1136. [Cont, Fl. Wig.; Rt. de M.]
1136	,,	Gruffudd ap Rhys died in 1137. [Cont. Fl. Wig.; Ann. de Margam].
1142	,,	Milo of Hereford was killed Christmas Eve, 1143. [Gerv. Cant.; Gesta. Steph.]
1146	,,	Crusade of 1147.
1152	,,	Death of Ranulf of Chester, 1153. [Rt. de M.; Gerv. Cant]
1153	,,	Death of Stephen, 1154. [Rt. de M.; Gerv. Cant.]
1154	,,	Death of Roger of Hereford, 1155. [Rt. de M.; Gerv. Cant.]
1155	,,	Death of Toirdhealbach Ua Conchobhair, 1156. [Ann. iv. Mag.]
1156	,,	Henry II.'s expedition against Gwynedd in 1157. [Rt. de M., &c.]
1162	,,	Henry II.'s expedition to South Wales, 1163. [Ralph. Coggeshall.; Ann. de Marg.]
1164	,,	Henry's expedition of 1165. [Rt. de M., &c.]
1165	,,	Expulsion of Diarmaid mac Marchadha, 1166. [Ann. IV. Mag.]
1168	,,	Robert Fitz Stephen goes to Ireland, 1169
1169	,,	I will give in Appendix No. 3 my reasons for believing that the death of Owain Gwynedd must be attributed to 1170; and that the events recorded in the Rolls Edition under the years 1169 and 1170 are to be united under the single year 1170.

It will now be clear that all the events of the period 1135—1170 are in this chronicle ante-dated by one year.—The only exceptions I feel warranted in making, refer to the events dated 1137, 1138, in the Rolls Edition, and which are really two years behind and equivalent to 1139, 1140.

APPENDIX No. II.

The Chronology of the two MSS. B. C. used by Williams ab Ithel for his edition of the Annales Cambriae is more complicated and sometimes obscure. It is, however, correct from 1135 to 1146 inclusive.

One observation is necessary. We find the following difference between B. and C. concerning the death of Cynfrig ap Owain :—

B.—at 1138. Kenwric filius Owini occisus est a familia Madoc filii Maredut.
C.—at 1140. Kenwric filius Owein occiditur ab Howel filio Maredut.

By comparing with the entry in the Brut y Tywysogion, I am inclined to favour the date 1140, and it is clear the event referred to is the same. Howel ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn was probably his brother Madog's penteulu, or the chief of his household troops. [See Welsh Laws concerning "penteulu"; also at the beginning of the "Dream of Rhonabwy," Madog ap Maredudd is said to offer the Mastership of the Household to his brother Iorwerth Coch.]

The events properly belonging to 1146 are divided in the Ann. Camb. between 1146 and 1147.—The blinding of Rhys ap Howel by Hugh de Mortimer fixed at 1148 by the B., and at 1147 by the C. MS., belongs to 1147.—The death of Robert of Gloucester fixed at 1149, belongs to 1147 [Ann. Margan.; Ann. Theokesb.]—The death of Gilbert Strongbow, fixed at 1149 by B, 1148 by C, belongs to 1147.—The events dated 1150, 1151, took place in 1148, 1149. The siege of Malmesbury dated 1152 took place in 1152—3.

The events dated 1153, 1154, took place in 1150, 1151, if we except the last four mentioned under 1154, which properly belong to 1153. They are the harrying of Cyfeiliog by Rhys ap Gruffudd, and the deaths of David of Scotland, Ranulf of Chester and Pope Eugenius III.

The events assigned to 1155 1171 inclusive belong to 1154—1170. A few dates will shew this :—

1155 in Ann. Camb.		Death of Stephen, 1154.
1156	,,	Death of Maredudd ap Gruffudd, 1155. [Brut y Tyw.]
1157	,,	Events in Ceredigion, 1156. [Brut y Tyw.]
1158	,,	Expedition of Henry II. to Gwynedd, 1157. [Brut y Tyw.]
1159	,,	Death of Morgan ap Owain of Caerlleon, 1158. [Brut y Tyw.]
1160	,,	Events in South Wales, 1159. [Brut y Tyw.]
1161	,,	Death of Madog ap Maredudd, 1160. [Brut y Tyw.]
1164	,,	Expedition of Henry II. to Pencadair, 1163. [Brut y Tyw.]

1165	in Ann. Camb.	Campaign of Rhys ap Gruffudd in Ceredigion, 1164. [Brut y Tyw.]
1166	,,	Campaign of Henry II. in Wales, 1165. [Brut y Tyw.]
1167	,,	Arrival of Diarmaid, 1166. [Ann. iv. Mag.; Brut y Tyw.]
1168	,,	Capture of Rhuddlan, 1167. [Brut y Tyw.]
1170	,,	Robert Fitz Stephen freed by Rhys ap Gruffudd, 1169. [Brut y Tyw].
1171	,,	Death of Owain Gwynedd and his son Howel. I will show in Appendix No. 3 my reason for attributing these events to 1170.

APPENDIX No. III.

The date of the death of Owain Gwynedd is an important one. It has been assumed by nearly every writer to be 1169. [Materials for Hist. of Becket (Rolls Ser.) v. 239 note; Haddan & Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Doc. i. 373 sq.; T. F. Tout in his article on Owain Gwynedd in the Dict. of Nat. Biog.; Thos. Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, p. 39; Thos Price, Hanes Cymru, p. 579.]

I am of opinion that it must be assigned to the month of November, 1170, for the following reasons:—

1.—We have shown in App. No. 1 that the dates 1134—1169 in the Rolls Edition of the Brut y Tywysogion = 1135—1170. Now the death of Owain is found under 1169=1170.

2.—We have seen that from 1155 onwards the two MSS. used by Ab Ithel for his edition of the "Annales Cambriae" are ante-dated by one year. Now in the B. MS. there is an imperfect entry concerning Owain and Cadwaladr, almost certainly relating to the death of the former; and in the C. MS. we have "Oweyn rex Nortwalliae obiit"; both entries are attributed to 1171=1170.

3.—Robert de Monte, at the year 1171, says: "Ris, king of the Welsh, made peace with Henry, king of the English. His uncle, King Oen, had died in the previous year, and his sons had made submission to King Henry." This entry seems conclusive.

4.—In the letter from Thomas à Becket to Owain, demanding the filling of the see of Bangor (Materials for the History of Becket, Rolls Series, v. 232—4; Haddon & Stubbs, Councils and Eccles. Docs., i. 372—3); the former says the bishopric has been vacant nearly ten years. Now Bishop Meurug

died in 1161—2 (Brut y Tywysogion, ad. ann. 1161; See also in Kalendario S. Petri Salop., MS. Cott. Vitell, A. viii. :—"i. id. Aug. obiit Mauricius Bangor. Episcopus.") "Fere decennium" after 1161—2 can hardly refer to an earlier date than 1170.

If the date 1170 be accepted as the correct one for the death of Owain, knowing as we do that the events under 1171 in the Rolls Edition of the Brut are correctly dated, it becomes probable that the events of the two years 1169 and 1170 refer to the same year, 1170. This becomes almost certain by the fact that in the corrupt passage in the B. MS. used for the Ann. Camb., both the deaths of Owain Gwynedd and his son, Howel, are referred to under the same year, 1171=1170. Howel would then have been stabbed to death by his brother in November or December, 1170. Certain it is that we have no trustworthy authority for the two years' reign of Howel, mentioned in the Gwentian Chronicle. It is much more probable from what we know, that he was killed immediately after his father's death, as he was his eldest and most warlike son, and an able and popular bard. The party of Queen Chrisiant must have been powerful during the last years of Owain's life, as is clear from the ecclesiastical struggles of the time. Dafydd and Rhodri, both sons of Chrisiant, seem to have seized this opportunity of thrusting their brothers from their heritage. We know that Cynan alone of the other numerous sons of Owain succeeded in keeping his share of dominion and handing it down to his sons.

APPENDIX No. IV.

The Chronology of events in Morganwg is very difficult. Not only do we know nothing of the exact date of the Conquest [App. (Notes) in Freeman's Norman Conquest, v. 820—2]; but to the end of the XIIth Century there is much obscurity. This is, no doubt, due to some extent to the fact that too much reliance has been placed in the past in that utterly untrustworthy work, the Gwentian Chronicle, which causes wild confusion by blending the history of the descendants of Iestin ap Gwrgant and those of Iestin ab Owain ap Howel Dda. But more is to be ascribed to the paucity of references to Glamorgan history in better

authorities ; and much to the fact that the great majority of charters and other documents relating to the district are undated and that we have no chronological knowledge wherewith to supply the deficiency.

There is no doubt that Iestin ap Gwrgant was a real person :—

1.—We find him mentioned twice in the XIIth Century Liber Landavensis (edn. Rhys & Evans, 1893), pp. 271—3 ; in the first case he is mentioned as a contemporary of Bishop Herewald of Llandaff, who died in 1104 ; in the second case, of King Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch. Now we know pretty clearly when the latter lived. His father, Gruffudd, must have been killed in the early part of 1055. [Brut y Tyw., ad ann. 1054, Rolls Edn.] Caradog himself destroyed Harold's hunting lodge at Portskewet on the 24th Aug., 1065. [Ang. Sax. Chron.] He is last mentioned in the Brut at the year 1076=1078. We are told in the Lib. Land. p. 279, that he died before 1087 ; in the Ann. Camb. that he was killed at Mynydd Carn in Pembrokeshire in 1081.

2. The genealogists call Iestin the son of Gwrgant ab Ithel ap Morgan. Now this Morgan died 973 [Brut y Tyw. ; Ann. Camb.] Iestin ap Gwrgant we may suppose, therefore, lived in the second half of the XIth century.

3.—Iestin has been connected by tradition and legend with the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan by Fitz Hamon. This event must have taken place before 1100 ; for after that date Robert is found chiefly in Normandy [see Le Prévost's edition of Ordericus Vitalis iv. 199, 203—4, 219] ; and there he died in March 1107.

The date of the building of Cardiff Castle is given in one MS. used by Ab Ithel for the Brut as 1080=1082.

I am inclined to believe that the first steps at least in the conquest of Glamorgan were made between 1071, the year of the defeat and death of Maredudd ab Owain on the banks of the Rhymni, and 1082.

At any rate, from the facts given it is pretty clear that Iestin ap Gwrgant must have lived during the period 1070—1100.

Having ascertained what is approximately the time of the life of Iestin, we are met with as much, if not more, difficulty when we try to assign an exact date to the life of each of the numerous sons attributed to him.

The eldest appears to have been Caradog, and we get a safe reference to him and to two of his brothers in the Annals of Margam at the year 1127 :—

"Rogerus Ymor a tribus filiis Gestin, Grifud, Garatauc, Guoroni, occisus est dolo."

Caradog married Gwladus, daughter of Gruffudd ap Rhys.—This fact enables us to fix approximately the date of Caradog's death. For Gwladus by a second marriage with Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, lord of Gwent Uchcoed, had a son, Cadwaladr, who was killed in 1175, when he was about seven years old. [See Brut y Tyw., ad ann. 1175; Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 49, Note 2.] This would seem to prove that her first husband was dead by 1167.

Then Gruffudd, Gwladus' father, was a child when his father, Rhys, was killed in Easter, 1093. [Fl. Wigorn.]—He certainly cannot have married Gwenllian, daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan before 1111, when her first husband, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn died. [B. y T. ad ann. 1108=1111; also pp. 138—9.]—The fact that she had a son in 1168 suggests that his daughter, Gwladus, was born after, and probably some years after, 1120. At all events she could hardly have married Caradog ab Iestin before 1140. Her son, Morgan, was the eldest of Caradog's four sons, so that Caradog could hardly have died before 1147. [Gir. Camb., vi., 72.]

We are then led to believe that Caradog died between 1147 and 1167.

Of the other sons of Iestin, Rhys ap Iestin and his three sons, Iorwerth, Owain and Howel, are clearly referred to in a charter of John to Neath, dated 1208. [See Clarke's Cartae and Munimenta de Glamorgan i., 60.]—We also find a reference to Iorwerth ab Iestin as a benefactor of Margam in Countess Isabel's "Confirmatio" to that Monastery dated 1214—6 in Clarke's Cart. and Mun. Glam. iii. 300—2; as well as in charters of Isabel and her second husband, Geoffrey of Essex, given by Clarke, iii., 273—8.—See a reference to the harrying of Brycheiniog by the sons of Iestin, Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 20, 21.

Caradog ab Iestin left four sons, Morgan, Maredudd, Owain, and Cadwallon.—Owain was killed by Cadwallon; and the story in Giraldus Cambrensis (Op. vi. 69) about Owain's greyhound, which was presented by Earl William of Gloucester to Henry II., when the wounds it had

received in defence of its master were but recently closed, shows us that this event must have taken place between 1154, the year of Henry's accession, and 1183, when Earl William died. Cadwallon himself was killed at the siege of a castle before 1188 when the Crusade was preached in Wales by Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus.—We have in Clarke's Cartae et Munim. Glam. iii. 172—3, 176, an undated grant of Caradog Verbeis, and also a "confirmatio" of the same, in which Morgan, Maredudd and Cadwallon are spoken of, but not Owain; and they probably refer to the time between the death of Owain and that of Cadwallon.

Morgan ap Caradog was one of the Welsh princes who accompanied Rhys ap Gruffudd to Gloucester in 1175 [Brut y T.]—In 1188, he was Archbishop Baldwin's guide in his progress from Margam Abbey to Swansea. [Gir. C. vi. 72].—He is mentioned with his brother, Maredudd, as "plegius" to an exemplification by Bishop Henry of Llandaff in 1199. [Clarke, C. et. M.G.].—We have a grant of his of land to Margam from the Penrice MSS. dated 1208 [Clarke, C. & M.G. ii., 282.] He died probably between 1208 and the 6th July, 1213, which is the date of the "confirmatio" by Lleision ap Morgan of all his father's grants to Margam. [Clarke, iii., 297].

I wish now to call attention to two things :—

1.—We have seen that Morgan Hen died in 973, and Morgan ap Caradog ab Iestin ap Gwrgant ab Ithel ap Morgan in or shortly before 1213. The length of the generations from death to death attains the very high average of 48 years, very high if we consider the surname of the elder Morgan, and the fact that Morgan ap Caradog was probably a septuagenarian in 1213.

2.—Ieştin apparently lived 1070—1100; it is curious that his son, Caradog, should not have had a son till after 1140.

Another argument for a later date than that usually assigned to Iestin's sons is derived from the passage in the Itin. Kamb. of Giraldus [Op. vi., 20—1], where there is a reference to those princes invading Brycheiniog. This is said to have taken place after the famous harrying by Howel ap Maredudd. This "magna illa desolatio" refers perhaps to the savage descent into the Vale of Llwchwr at the close of 1135. At any rate it is highly improbable that it should mean anything earlier. Howel

ap Maredudd died in or shortly before 1140.—Further the "guerra illa grandis" of the sons of Iestin is spoken of as one of the notable events quae nostris temporibus contigere, which would not, I think, mean anything previous to Giraldus' birth in 1147.

APPENDIX No. V.

I wish to refer to the way in which I have treated the Gwentian Chronicle, known also as the Gwentian Brut or Llyfr Aberpergwm. It is, I believe, the work of a XVIth Century bard who had access to several earlier authorities. One was evidently a rather corrupt transcript of the Brut, which the author perhaps further corrupted, especially by unwarranted additions. I may say that it is never safe to trust this Chronicle when it refers to the general history of Wales; its blunders are without number, and it would be useless to enumerate them. Many are referred to in the notes. When it is the sole authority for a statement, I have carefully called attention to the fact and to its untrustworthy character.

But for the history of Gwent and Glamorgan, it is clear that the writer had some MS. work which is now lost to us. No doubt he may have corrupted the original, but we must take the kernel of his statements as probably true. So I have accepted the groundwork of his references to Glamorgan history ad 1146, 1147, 1150, &c.

The chronology of the Gwentian Chronicle is worse than useless. It gives the right dates for the deaths of the English kings no doubt from some English annals; it copies the erroneous dating of the Brut y Tywysogion for Welsh facts, but it often compresses the events of several years into one.—In a word, wherever this work can be controlled, it is shown to be very faulty.

With regard to the events given by this Chronicle at 1169, we have shown [Apps. Nos. 1, 2, 3] that everything warrants our assigning the death of Owain to Nov., 1170, and that of Howel ab Owain to Nov. or Dec. of the same year. It is impossible that Howel should have reigned two years, been defeated and wounded in battle, and driven to Ireland by Dafydd; for we know from a contemporary poem that he was killed on the North Anglesey coast, at Penrhyn near Penrhos, and

buried at Bangor. [Peryf fab Cadifor ai Cant i Hywel ap Ywein, Myv. Arch., p. 346]. The Ann. Camb. say Dafydd was present at the death, and the Brut definitely asserts that Dafydd killed Howel.—I do not know on what authority Thos. Price, in "Hanes Cymru," p. 583, note, states that one Rhirid, son of Owain Gwynedd, became Lord of Clochran In Ireland. The Gwentian Brut does not say Rhirid was son of Owain Gwynedd, but that he was brother of Howel:—Eithr Rhirid ei frawd ai dug i long, ac yna i'r Werddon, lle y bu Hywel farw, ac efe a roddes i Ririd ei frawd ei gyfoeth yno.—We might be tempted to believe that the reference was to his foster brother, Rhirid ap Cedifor Wyddel, did we not know that he, too, was killed at Penrhyn. [See the above-mentioned poem.]

APPENDIX No. VI.

The Brut y Saeson in the Myv. Arch., pp. 652–684, is the Cotton MS. Cleopatra B. v., used by ab Ithel for his edition of the Brut y Tywysogion and referred to by him as D. For one who has not access to the original, it is very useful to compare the two versions, as Ab Ithel does not give all the variations.—It is a rather corrupt and abridged transcript of the Brut y Tywysogion, to which are added some English facts, derived from the Annales Wintonienses.—It has been ascribed to the close of the XVth century. It would thus be of the same time as the Llyfr Du Basing [E. MS. of Ab Ithel], if it is true the latter was written by Guttyn Owain, and it very often makes the same mistakes. It also sometimes agrees with the C MS. of Ab Ithel, a XVIth century Venedotian MS. in the Hengwrt Library.

APPENDIX No. VII.

The succession of the abbots of the chief Welsh monasteries during the twelfth century is obscure. The fixation of their chronological order is useful for the approximate dating of charters and historical documents of the period.

MARGAM was founded in 1147; William, first abbot died in 1153; Andreas abbas secundus on the 31st of December, 1154 or 1155 [Ann.

Marg.]—Who was third abbot is not clear. In 1169, C., probably Cynan, abbot of Margam was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Keynsham. [Clarke, Cartae et Munim de Glamorgan, i., 24—5.]—Cynan was certainly abbot before 1176. [Grant of William of Gloucester in C. et. Munim de Glamorgan, iii, 101, dated c. 1170 by Clarke, and to which both Cynan of Margam and Cynan of Ty Gwyn were witnesses.] He is described as vir literatus et discretus, and was still living in 1188. [Gir. Camb., Op. vi. 67.]—He is mentioned in the Symbolum Electorum as vir bonae memoriae; and if we admit that this work was written in Giraldus' fiftieth year [anno quasi quinquagesimo, he tells us himself], Cynan must have been dead in 1197. But Wharton ascribes the Symbolum to 1204 or 1205. [Gir. Camb., Op. i. 206.] -Roger appears to have succeeded Cynan, and was certainly abbot in the lifetime of Bishop Henry of Llandaff. [Carta Gereberti Filii Roberti in Cart. et Munim. de Glam., i. 49 - 50.] -We have a bull of Innocent III. of the 20th of November, 1203, addressed to Gilbert, Abbot of Margam. [Cart. et Munim. de Glam. iii., 228.]—On the 17th of June, 1213, he was superseded by John. [Ann. Marg.] -

NEATH was founded in 1130; Richard, first abbot died in 1145 [Ann. Marg.]—There may have been a second of that name as Ricardus abbas de Neth witnessed the Concessio Will. Com. Glouc. Burgagii in Kardid [Cart et Munim. de Glam i., 12, from the Cotton MS. Vitellius v. xi., 1006].—R. [whether for Ricardus or Radulphus is not clear], abbot of Neath, witnessed the foundation charter of Keynsham in 1169. —Radulphus was abbot before 1176, as we see by a grant of William of Gloucester in Cart. and munim. de Glam. iii. 101, to which he was witness with Cynan of Ty Gwyn.—Walter, abbot of Neath, was witness to a notification of Pagan de Turberville to Bishop William of Llandaff of a grant of land in Newcastle to Margam. [Cart. et Munim de Glam. iii. 160.] -This Walter is again mentioned with William de Llandaff in C. et M. de Glam., i. 70; Clarke has confounded the two bishops of the name, and should have dated the Decisio Willielmi episcopi de Landavia et Walteri Abbatis de Neth, 1186—1191, not 1219—1229.—Walter was perhaps abbot in the lifetime of Bishop Nicholas. [Grant of land to Margam in C. et M. de G. iii. 145—6; I am inclined to distrust the reading Johannis (abbatis de Margam) as there is no evidence for such a person till 1213.]—Abbot Walter, vir bonus et sanctus, was alive, almost

certainly when the Symbolum Electorum was written [Gir. Camb. Op. i 206]; which is in favour of the date 1197 as that of the composition of that work, rather than Wharton's 1204—5 when Walter was dead.—In 1201, A., Abbot of Neath, witnessed an agreement between William de Barri and John de la Mare [C. et M. de G. iii. 179]; perhaps the Clemens, prior de Neth, another witness of the agreement, is the same as Abbot Clement of Neath, who is mentioned in Giraldus' [Op. viii. 310] work, De Principis Instructione, as venerabilis abbas de Neth Clemens.—The De Principis Instructione was probably written in 1216. [Chronological table in Preface to Vol. i. of the Rolls Edition of Giraldus' Works, p. xcix.]—In 1218 obiit Clemens abbas de Neth cui successit Gervasius prior ejusdem domus. [Ann. Marg.]

Ewenny dates from the XIIth century. There were two abbots in the lifetime of Bishop Nicholas [1149—1183]. The first, Roger, was one of the witnesses to a quit-claim to Margam of land. [C. et M. de G. iii. 92—3.] The second, Bertramnus, was also witness to a confirmation of Margam grants. [C. et M. de G. iii., 94—5].—John, prior of Ewenny, testified to an assignment of land by Abbot Cynan of Margam [id. iii. 130—1].

Ystrad Fflur dates from 1165 [Brut ad 1164=5].—Dafydd, the first abbot known to us, died in 1185 [Brut].—He was, perhaps, succeeded by Seisyll, abbot in 1188, when with John of Ty Gwyn, he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin through Ceredigion and into North Wales, where he preached the cross. [Gir. Camb., Op. vi., 119, 126]—Giraldus speaks several times of the abbot of Strata Florida without giving his name; and we only know that Abbot Cedifor died in 1225 [Brut].

Ty Gwyn's first abbot was almost certainly Morfran, who is mentioned by the Brut as early as 1147, i.e., only four years after the foundation of the house at Trefgarn.—Then we have Cananus abbas Albe Terre in William of Gloucester's grant in C. & M. de G. iii. 101. This Cynan was a vir probus et religiosus [Gir. Camb., vi., 59], and died in 1176 [Brut].—Rhydderch, probably his successor, died in 1184 [Brut].—John was abbot in 1188. [Gir. Camb., vi., 119.]—Peter, abbot in 1198, was nominated Bishop of St. David's by the Chapter [Gir. C. i. 95], but his deposition was procured by Giraldus.

Ystrad Marchell, or Strata Marcella, seems to have been founded in 1170. [Dugd. Mon. v. 636].—It was sometimes called Y Trallwng.

The Brut speaks of the death of Abbot Ithel in 1185, and Abbot Gruffudd in 1196.—One abbot, certainly of the XIIth century, but whose exact date it is difficult to fix, is called Enoc and Enatus indifferently by Giraldus, who says he was deposed for incontinence. [Op. ii., 248, iv., 168, 172, vi. 59].

CWMHIR was founded in 1143. [Dugd. Mon., v. 458].—The Brut speaks of the death of its abbot Meurig in 1185. Cynawg was Abbot of Cwmhir when Giraldus wrote the Symbolum Electorum.

APPENDIX No. VIII.

It is necessary to refer shortly to the son of Owain Gwynedd called Madog, who was supposed to have discovered America. The story was first fully formulated by Dr. David Powel in his History of Cambria in 1584. The partisans of the Madog theory have referred:—

(*a*) To the passage in the 3rd series of triads in Myv. Arch. p. 401:—

Tri Difancoll Ynys Prydain.

Y Trydydd, Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd a aeth i'r mor a trichann yn gydag ef. mewn deg llong, ac ni wyddys i ba le ydd aethant. [Tr. 10.]

But these triads are from a XVIth Century MS. Collection and there is no reference to America.

(*b*) To a passage in the Cywydd i ddiolch am y rhwyd of Maredudd ap Rhys (fl. before 1460) in the Iolo MSS. pp. 321—4:—

Helied Ifan, hael dyfiad
Ar y tir teg, wedi'r tad;
Mewn awr dda minnau ar ddwr,
O fodd hael a fydd heliwr—
Madog wych, mwyedig wedd,
Iawn genau Owain Gwynedd
Ni fynnai dir, f'enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.
Madog wyf i'm oed, ei gais
Ar foroedd hyn arferais.

This passage only makes it fairly certain that there was a son Owain Gwynedd called Madog, who loved the sea and paid attention to naval matters.

(*c*) To two passages in the poems of one of the gogynfeirdd, Llywarch ap Llywelyn. The first—Arwyrein Rodri vab Ywein Prydyt y Moch ae Cant—Myv. Arch., p. 202, does not contain a reference to any Madog.—The second passage is the poem—Awdyl yr Haearn Twymyn. Prydyt y Moch ae Cant—on p. 205 of the Myv. Arch. It speaks of the trial of the poet by the ordeal of fire for the murder of one Madog, not necessarily Madog ab Owain Gwynedd at all. This last poem was used by Stephens against the Madog theory. We may say that we have no mention of Madog in the Chronicles, nor in any contemporary authority. At the same time we may consider the statements of Maredudd ap Rhys about him as probably true.

For the Madog theory see Thos. Stephens' Essay for the Llangollen Eisteddfod of 1856.

APPENDIX No. IX.

It is difficult to follow with certainty the fortunes of the Shropshire Marches at this period, owing to the very rare record of events. But what record there is points very clearly against the usually accepted theory that West Shropshire, and more particularly Oswestry and its neighbourhood, were English, long before the Norman Conquest; and tends to prove a very unsettled tenure of the land by the Normans and the existence among them of powerful Welsh landowning families.

The Legend of Fulk Fitz Warine, in its original form of the end of XIIIth century, has been largely used for the history of the district, but its statements must be received with caution.

The neighbourhood of Oswestry belonged to Maredudd ap Bleddyn, and was granted, according to the Legend to Alan Fitz Flaald, Fleadd or Flaev, ancestor of the Fitz Alans, who built a castle there. [Legend of F.F., Rolls Edition, pp. 286–7]. The grant was no doubt made by Henry I. after his campaign against Powys in 1121, though Eyton, on what authority I know not, says that Alan died in 1114. He married, according to the same writer, Aveline or Adeline, sister of the Arnoul de Hesdin, who was hung by Stephen in 1138 [Ordericus Vitalis, v. 112;

Eyton, Shropshire, vii. 222—3]; according to another a daughter of Guarin de Metz or Warin the Bald, Sheriff of Shropshire. He had two sons, William, who succeeded him, and Walter, who has been asserted to be the ancestor of the House of Stuart.

Meanwhile another family had acquired land somewhat to the North. William Peveril is first heard of as witness to a charter to the Church of Salisbury of Sept. 8th, 1131. [Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, p. 266]. —The Legend [Rolls Edition, pp. 280—8] says he succeeded his maternal uncle, Pain Peveril, who is referred to as the cousin of the king. William seems to have been the son or grandson of another William Peveril; and the latter is said to have been an illegitimate son of William the Conqueror by a daughter of Ingebric, the founder of St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London. [Dugdale, Baron. i. 437; quotation from Robert Glover the Somerset herald.] William conquered all Morlais to the banks of Ceiriog and Dee, Ellesmere, Maelawr, and Nauhendon. [Legend, p. 288]. He built castles at Whittington, Ellesmere, Overton in Maelawr, and Bryncynallt on the Ceiriog, and was at the height of his power when in 1138 he revolted against Stephen. [Ord. Vital., v. 111] From that time his fortunes declined. King Stephen, Earl Ranulf of Chester, Madog ap Maredudd pressed on all sides upon his Shropshire possessions. A charter of Henry Plantagenet gave his lands to Ranulf; and Peveril in his anger poisoned the Earl. After the confiscation of his estates in 1155 he must have withdrawn into a monastery, and we hear no more of him.

The building or re-building of Oswestry Castle by Madog ap Maredudd in 1149 shows that he took full advantage of his opportunities; and owing to Peveril's ruin and his own alliance with Henry, he must have retained his conquests till his death in 1160. Certainly one of his sons, Gruffudd, was his successor in Ial, Maelawr, and Ellesmere.

What remained of Peveril's lands passed to William Fitz Alan and Fulk Fitz Warine.

William Fitz Alan we first hear of in 1136, as witness to a charter of Stephen to Shrewsbury Abbey [Monast. Ang. iii. 519]. Between 1130 and 1138 he founded Hagaman or Haughmond Abbey [Eyton, Shropshire, ix., 286—7]. He took part in the rebellion of 1138 against Stephen [Ord. Vital. v. 111] to support Robert of Gloucester, whose niece Christiana he had married. Another authority [Legend of F. Fitz Warine,

p. 288] says he married Eleyne, one of Peveril's two nieces, and this would account for the Fitzalan's claim to Oswestry and the neighbourhood. He was a devoted partisan of the Empress Maud and Henry her son; and the latter, after the suppression of Mortimer's rebellion, restored William to his paternal fief, and gave him as his second or third wife, Isabel, daughter and heiress of Elie de Sai, who brought him the castle and honour of Clun or Colunwy. [For this castle, see G. T. Clark, Mediaeval Military Architecture, i. 402—9]. From 1155 he was sheriff and principal landowner of Shropshire. He died about Easter, 1160, and was succeeded by his son, William Fitz Alan II. He left by his first wife, a daughter, Christiana, wife of Hugh Pantulf. [Pipe Rolls, 1155—60.]

William Fitz Alan II. inherited Clun, and probably a claim to Oswestry, which he subsequently made good. Certainly it was at the latter place that he sumptuously entertained Archbishop Baldwin and his train in 1188. [Gir. Camb. Op. vi. 142.] He was head of the house in 1190. [Great Roll of the Pipe, i. Ric. i., ed. Hunter, Lond., 1844, pp. 14, 95, 144, 168, 215, 248].—He was clearly alive in 1200 [Gir. Camb., Op. iii. 227].—He died probably in 1210.

His son, William Fitz Alan III. died before 1215, when we find his brother and successor, John Fitz Alan, one of the barons confederated against King John.

The other noble who inherited of Peveril in Shropshire was Fulk Fitz Warine I. or Foulques, second son of Guarin de Metz by a daughter of the house of Peveril. He was head of the house in 1155—8 and died in 1170—1 [Pipe Rolls]. He had four sons, and the eldest Fulk or Foulques II. succeeded. It was this Foulques probably who married Hawise, daughter and co-heiress of Joce de Dinan, but failed to make good his claim upon Ludlow. He is referred to as master of Whittington Castle in 1195, but it is difficult to say whether he was in possession from the first. He died in 1197. The eldest of his five sons, Fulk or Foulques III. succeeded.

The whole of the district to which we have made reference seems to have belonged to a chieftain called Tewdwr Trefor, who lived shortly before or after A.D. 900 His lands were divided between his three sons, Goronwy, Dingad, Lluddoca. The whole of the southern portion went to Goronwy, who was, through his grandson, Elystan Glodrhudd, the

ancestor of the Princes of Buallt and Fferyllwg. The northern portion, including Bromfield and Maelawr, went to Dingad; while Lluddoca inherited the central part, the neighbourhood of Chirk, Whittington, &c.

Fourth in descent from Lluddoca was Rhys Sais ab Ednyfed ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddoca, who was the ancestor of the Welsh lords of Whittington, Eyton, Duddleston. Fourth in descent from Rhys Sais was Roger ap Goronwy ap Tewdwr ap Rhys Sais, usually called Roger Powys. From his time onwards we are able to control the Welsh pedigrees by contemporary documents which show them to be quite trustworthy. The Legend of Fulk Fitz Warine [Rolls Editn p. 323], says Roger received Maelawr and Oswestry from the king. We learn from the Rotuli Chartarum [ed. Hardy, 1837, p. 43], that in return for this recognition of his rights, Roger acted as a kind of intermediary between the king and the Welsh. He is called Roger de Poewis in the Pipe Rolls of 1157—8 [ed. Hunter, p. 169].

This shows him to have been a contemporary of Henry II., as was also his brother, Ionas ap Goronwy, who succeeded him [Legd. of Fulk F., p. 323; Rotuli Chart. ed. Hardy, 1837, p. 43]. Ionas died, leaving a son Llywelyn. But his immediate successors were the sons of Roger, named, according to the probable order of their birth—Maredudd, Meurug Llwyd, Roger Fychan, and Goronwy.— Maredudd is mentioned as holding Wrocwurdin [probably Shrowardine] in Shropshire in 1190. [Pipe Roll, i. Ric. i., pp. 92—3].—Meurug is in the same year mentioned in connection with Richard Fitz Warine [p. 190]. Maredudd must have died soon after.

Fulk Fitz Warine III. who succeeded his father in 1197, seems in some way to have incurred the hatred of John. Meurug availed himself of the circumstance to strengthen his hold on the district. He is said in the Legend to have bribed the king to recognise his rights over Whittington. In Rotuli Chartarum [ed. Hardy, 1837, p. 43], we have a Charter of John of the 11th of April, 1200, confirming Whittington, Overton and their appurtenances to Meurug and his heirs in return for the same services to John as Roger and Ionas had been accustomed to do for King Henry II. This charter is clear, and is conclusive as evidence of the power of the Welsh landowners in the Shropshire Marches till the very beginning of the thirteenth century. Its immediate effect was to cause the outbreak of war between Meurug and Fulk Fitz Warine. According

to the Legend of Fulk, the former was supported by the four sons of Gwy or Gyoun, son of Candelou of Porkyntone [perhaps Gwion ap Cynddylan of Brogyntyn]. These four chieftains and Meurug Llwyd himself were slain.

This victory did not much change the fortunes of Fulk at the time, and he is represented in the Legend as fleeing from John to the court of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth [pp. 349—51]. A second charter of the 1st August, 1200 [Rotuli Ch. p. 74] confirmed the former one to the sons of Meurug who are unintelligibly named Werennoc and Wennoneo. Meurug Llwyd, however, had no children and his brothers Roger Fychan and Goronwy are the persons referred to.

As showing the historical accuracy of some Welsh genealogical compilations, it is interesting to compare the following extract from the Llyfr Silin [a genealogical work put together between 1645 and 1728 probably, and published in the 5th series of Archaeologia Cambrensis, Vol. vi., pp. 148—9], with the knowledge we derive from the Legend and the Rolls:—

> Sir Meiric Lloyd a fu farw yn ddietifedd o'i gorff trwy ei ladd o Ffoulke ap Gwaring, yr hwn aeth a'i gyfoeth drwy drais feddiant; ac felly mae Swydd y Drewen yn eiddo iddo o hynny hyd heddyw. A Roger Estwick oedd un o'i Frodyr ac etifedd nesaf i Sir Meiric Lloyd drwy yrstad a wnaeth Llew. ap Iorwerth Drwyndwn, Tywysog Cymru, ac a'i conffirmiodd Harri y Trydydd Brenin Lloegr o'r enw i'r Sir Roger ap Gronw Hen, a elwyd Sir Roger Powys.—Ac etifedd Sir Roger Estwick oedd Meredydd, ac i Meredydd y bu Werfyl gwraig Ieuan Foel ap Gwilym ap Kynfrig Sais . . . . . Sir Meiric Lloyd, Arglwydd y Drewen, a roddes i Roger a Gronw ei Frodyr, Dref Estwick a chwbl o'i fraint yn Swydd Elsmer, yn Rhus, yn Krikod, ac Egil; ac ar Roger ddau Rossyn Koch noswyl Ieuan i Arglwydd Elsmer os doedd i'w ofyn: ac nid oedd ar Ronwy ddim, am ei fod yn ifiangaf; ac i Roger y braint am ei fod yn hynaf.

Henry III. is wrongly made contemporary with Roger Powys. The reference is to the original arrangement between Roger Powys and Henry II., possibly confirmed by Henry III. to Roger Fychan. Whittington was restored by John to Fulk Fitz Warine in 1204 [Rot. Patent., 1835, i., 46].

A little to the south of Oswestry, the Lestrange family became lords of Ruyton [Welsh Rwyttyn] and Knockin. The Legend says they were all descended from Guy, one of the sons of the Duke of Brittany [pp. 290—3]. The first we know anything of was Roland Lestrange, who was witness to a charter of 1112. Hamon, Guy and John were Shropshire landowners in 1155 8 [Great Roll of the Pipe, ed. Hunter, 1844, pp. 43, 88, 170]. In 1190 we find John, son of John, landowner in Nesse and Chessewurdin [Shropshire], and probably head of the family; and Ralph, son of Gwy, at Aludelea [Pipe Roll, i. Ric. i, p. 92]. We have a Charter of the 16th April, 1200, to John Lestrange, concerning his "boscum" called Suthle near Cheseword [Rotuli Chartarum, ed. Hardy, 1837, p. 45] In 1204 Dominus Rex quietavit John Lestrange "de demande qu' il fit de exitibus manerii de Wrotwothin," &c. In 1214 John III Lestrange was serving under King John in Poitou.

Here, again, we find Norman and Welsh landowners dwelling side by side in the same district. Some explanation of this state of things is perhaps to be found in the passage in the Brut ad 1113=6:—

> Odyna ydaeth hyt yn Llan ym Dyfri lle yd oed gastell neb un tywyssawc aelwit Rickert vab y Pwnswn y gwr y rodassei Henri vrenhin idaw y Kantref Bychan . . . . . Maredud uab Ryderch uab Cradawc y gwr a oed yn kynnal ystiwerdiaeth Kantref Bychan y dan y dywededic Rickert . . . . etc

Some such relation as that between Richard and Maredudd ap Rhydderch existed between the Norman and Welsh lords who held the same lands in certain parts of Central and South West Wales. Henry I made a grant of land, as in the case of Gilbert de Clare in Ceredigion, and Richard Fitz Pons in Cantref Bychan; the Norman went to the country, built castles, and finding it impossible, owing to the great strength of resistance of the tribal organisation, to expel the Welsh lord, left him the control of the country, and received a tribute from him. From time to time, roused by some action of the Norman, the Welsh would lay his castle low; but it was soon rebuilt, and things were as before.

When, however, the Welsh learnt to build castles of their own, this state of things changed; at first, in the latter half of the twelfth century, to the disadvantage of the Normans; for while the Welsh had learnt the

Norman art of fortification, the Normans had made no progress in the affections of their subjects; but, eventually, (when the advantage of numbers and of unity of government began to tell,) in favour of the new nation which the thirteenth century produced, by the fusion of the Norman and Saxon into one

The Barony of Clun or Colunwy in South West Shropshire, which passed by marriage to the Fitz Alans was founded by Picot de Sai, one of the Normans who attached their fortunes to that of Roger de Montgomeri. He was probably the same as Robert de Sai "qui cognominabatur Picot" of a charter of c. 1060 to St. Martin de Seéz, and derived his name from the village of Sai near Exmes in the Orne. In 1083 he was a witness to Roger's vow to found Shrewsbury Abbey [Le Prévost's Ordericus Vitalis]. His daughter was wife of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, to whom she bore two sons, Henry and Gruffudd [Brut ad 1113=6]. He was succeeded by his son Henry de Sai, who flourished during the reign of Henry I. Henry de Sai's successor, Elie or Helias, left an only daughter, Isabel, who married: (1) William Fitz Alan; (2) Geoffrey de Vere; (3) William Boterell.

APPENDIX No. X.

For interesting references to beavers in Wales, see Giraldus Camb., Op. vi., 114—8, 173—5.

That wolves existed in Wales in the twelfth century seems certain Florence of Worcester ad 1136 says wolves devoured the bodies of the Norman knights slain in Gower. The Annales Cambriae ad 1166=5 say: Apud Kermerdin lupus rabiosus duo de viginti homines momordit, qui omnes fere protinus perierunt.

The word 'blaidd' is often used as a complimentary epithet by the bards, in their poems in honour of the chieftains of the twelfth century.

"Gawr aml a llafnawr ar flawr flaid"

[Gwalchmai ai Cant i Owain, Myv. A., p. 144].

"Bleit blaengawr bar dyrawr dwr"

[Cynddelw, Marwnad Teulu Ywein Gwynet, M. A., p. 164]

"Haetad vleinyad vleit cadeu"

[Cynddelw, Marwnad Meibyon Dwywc uab Iorwerth, M. A., p. 186].

"O gerteu bleityeu blaen gwryaf"

[Cynddelw, Breinyeu Gwyr Powys, M. A., p. 186].

"Rhag twr Gwallter
Blaidd traidd trymder tra niferawg"

[Seisyll Bryffwrch, Can i'r Arglwydd Rys, M. A., p. 237].

Several chieftains of the time received the nickname of the Wolf; thus Huw Fras or the Fat, Earl of Chester, is sometimes referred to as Huw Flaidd; cf. Cilin ab y Blaidd Rhudd o'r Gest yn Eifonydd, whose daughter and heiress, Haer, is said to have been mother of Maredudd ap Bleddyn.

Rhirid Flaidd, or the Wolf, was a chieftain of the second half of the twelfth century. The Llyfr Silin [Archaeologia Cambrensis, 5th Series, Vol. iv., p. 132] says :—

> Ririd Flaidd oedd Uchelwr ac Arglwydd am y Pum Plwy Penllyn a Yvionydd a Phennant Melangell a'r Bryn a'r Glyn yn Mhowys ac un Dre ar ddeg yn swydd y Mwythig.—
>
> Vol. v. p. 43 :—Mam Madoc ap Ririd Flaidd oedd Gwenllian verch Ednyfed ap Kynfig ap Rhiwallon ap Dyngad ap Tudr Trefor.—Mam Gwenllian oedd Wladys uerch Elidr ap Owen ap Edwin.—Mam Ririd Flaidd oedd Generys verch Rhys Sais ap Ednyfed ap Llowarch Gam ap Lluddoca ap Tudr Trefor.

According to the same work, Rhirid had sons :—Madog (iv. 131, &c.), Einion, Howel (v, 342), Iorwerth (vi. 348).—He is spoken of as Ririd Flaidd Arglwydd Penllyn (iii. 304, viii. 99), and Ririd Flaidd Ior Penllyn (viii. 98).

We have among Cynddelw's works, three on pp. 167—9 of the Myvyrian Archaeology bearing the following superscriptions :—

1. Eglynyon Marwnad y Ririd Vleit.
2. Kyndelw ac Cant y Ririd Vleit.
3. Marwnad Ririd Uleit.

From these we learn that like most chieftains of his time he was a great hunter, a foe of the English, and a friend of the bards. The third englyn in piece No. 2 confirms the extract from Llyfr Silin :—

Priodawr pennant pennaf uchelwr
Uchelwyr nodrydaf
Nyd y uleit preit y prydaf
Namyn y vleit glyw y glewhaf.

APPENDIX No. XI.

Abergafeni Castle seems to have belonged to Miles Crispin. His widow or daughter, Matilda de Wallingford, brought it in marriage to Brian Fitz Count, a son of Alain Fergant, count of Bretagne. Brian was at Abergafeni in April, 1136, and in 1142 rented it to Earl Miles of Hereford.—His wife, Matilda, died without issue in 1151 [Maitland's Bracton's Note Book, III. 536]. As Brian had no children, and as he was still alive in 1153 when Henry Plantagenet raised the siege of Wallingford, it was neither by marriage, nor by taking advantage of the troublous times of Stephen that Miles' sons retained their hold on the castle and eventually handed it over to the House of Braose.

William I., lord of Braose near Falaise, received large estates in England at the Conquest. The family seat was fixed at Bramber in Sussex. Philip his son married a daughter of Judhael de Totnes, lord of Totnes and Barnstaple. His lands were confiscated in 1110, but he appears to have been restored to favour in 1112 [Anglo-Saxon Chron.] Philip left sons, William and Philip. William, the elder, is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1157—8 as a landowner in Herefordshire (p. 144), and as holding the Honour of Barnstaple (p. 183). He was present at the Council of Clarendon in January, 1164 (Materials for Hist. of Archb. Becket, iv., 206—7). He married Bertha, younger daughter of Miles of Hereford, and co-heiress of her brother, Mahel. He had been succeeded before 1175 by his son, William III. de Braose, both in his own hereditary estates and in Abergafeni and Brycheiniog.

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